FBIS DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 193 *6 October 1981*

ALBANIA

Hoxha, Politburo Attend Tirana AWP Conference B 1
Other District Conferences B 2
Briefs: Ambassador's Credentials Presentation; B 3
Domestic Trade Seminar; Private Livestock

BULGARIA

First Polish Solidarity Congress Continues C 1
Zhivkov Speaks at Friendship Rally for Angola C 1
Delegation Arrives in CSSR for Economic Talks C 5
Trade Agreement With Cuba Signed in Sofia [Havana] C 5
Zhivkov Message to Foundry Congress Read C 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hoffmann Meets With Polish Branch Union Officials D 1
Szyszka, Siwak in Ostrava D 1
Discussion With Siwak D 1
Siwak on Personal Attacks D 1
Solidarity Reaction to Tobacco Price Hike Noted D 2
Solidarity Blamed for Drop in Polish Coal Output D 2
[Vitek in RUDE PRAVO 3 Oct]
Officials Meet With Portuguese Party Delegates D 3
Husak Receives Cunhal D 3
Officials Attending Talks D 3
Foreign Trade Minister Urban Returns From Iraq D 4
Officials Sign Labor Training Agreement With Cuba D 4
CPCZ Central Committee Congratulates Tudeh Party D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 1 Oct]
Strougal Congratulates PRC on National Day D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 1 Oct]
Leaders Mark People's Army Day Observance D 4
Dzur Presents Awards D 4
Leaders Meet With Delegation D 5
Leaders Attend Reception D 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

State Secretary Beil Meets Danish Prime Minister E 1
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Sep]
Envoy Conveys Zhivkov Message to Honecker E 1
Honecker Receives Romanian Ambassador 5 Oct E 1
Mittag Addresses Soviet, Polish Workers E 1
Chinese Ambassador Gives Anniversary Reception E 2
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Oct]
Honecker Receives New French Ambassador E 2
Paul Verner Presents Medals, Awards 5 Oct E 2
More on Awards E 2
Harry Tisch Speaks at FDGB Conference 2 Oct E 3
More on Tisch Speech E 3
Hoffmann, Dickel Issue National Day Orders E 4
Briefs: International Bank Representative; Kuhrig E 4
Visits Austria; Sugar Beet Harvest Report

HUNGARY

Frigyes Puja Addresses UN General Assembly F 1
Puja Interviewed on Return From New York F 1
SZOT Secretary General Gaspar Returns From Cuba F 1
Czinege Discusses Defense With Austria F 1
Portuguese CP Delegation Concludes Visit F 2
Kadar Receives Cunhal F 2
Delegation Departs 4 Oct F 2
Communique Issued 5 Oct F 2
Lazar Receives CEMA Secretary Nikolay Fadeyev F 3
Kadar Receives World Peace Council Officials F 3
Aczel Addresses Technological Association F 4
Daily Traces PRC's 'Turn Against Socialism' F 5
[NEPSZABADSAG 1 Oct]
Losonczi Delivers Speech On Armed Forces Day F 6
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Sep]

POLAND

Reportage on 5 Oct Solidarity Congress Session G 1
Union Program Discussed G 1
Some KKP Members Elected G 1
Resolutions Adopted G 1
5 Oct Session Ends G 2
TU Congress Elections Continue at 6 Oct Session G 2
Journalists Discuss Krzak, Krasinski Speeches G 2
LE MONDE Reports Gaspar-Walesa Exchange G 4
[Paris, 3 Oct]
ZYCIE WARSZAWY Comments on Price Rises G 5
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Comments on Rulewski Program G 6
Solidarity Stand on Self-Management Law G 6
Congress Resolution Examined G 7
Further Media Comment G 8
TRYBUNA LUDU on 27, 28, Sep Solidarity Sessions G 9
[Bielecki, 29 Sep]
Wiejacz, Soviet Counterpart Hold Talks in Moscow G 10
Jaruzelski Receives Stoph Letter on Supplies G 10
Obodowski Chairs Anticrisis Staff Meeting G 10
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Interview With Rakowski [28 Sep] G 11
Pax Chairman Advocates 'Grand Coalition' G 18
[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 28 Sep]
Discussion on Possibility of Civil War Reported G 20
Condemnation of 'Anti-Soviet Escapades' Urged G 21
[SLOWO POWSZECHNE 21 Sep]
Central Committee Urges More Investment in Books G 22
PZPR's Grzyb Attends School Opening in Radom G 23
Party Commissions Expel Some Regional Officials G 23
Nowy Sacz Officials G 23
Bielsko-Biala Officials G 23
Czestochowa Continues Report-Back Conference G 23
Lodz Party Plenum Discusses Difficulties G 24
[Karaszewski in TRYBUNA LUDU 29 Sep]
Trade With USSR, CEMA Reported, Analyzed G 24
'Most Stable Trade' G 24
Karski on Difficulties G 25
USSR Remains Shipyards Customer G 25

1981-85 Trade Agreement With Bulgaria Signed G 26
Gwiazda Interviewed G 26
Trade Agreement Details G 27
More on Agreements G 27
Obodowski Visits France, Seeks Economic Help G 27
Meeting With Trade Minister G 27
Meeting With Mauroy G 27
[LE MONDE 1 Oct]
Talks End in Paris G 28
Kania Receives Bulgarian Ambassador Nedev G 28
Foreign Ministry Official Interviewed in New York G 28
Sweden's Palme on Situation's Resolution G 29

ROMANIA

Olteanu Greets Hungarian Counterpart on Army Day H 1
[SCINTEIA 29 Sep]
Film Days in Bucharest Mark PRC Anniversary H 1
[SCINTEIA 30 Sep]
Economic Delegation Ends Visit to Tehran H 1
RCP's Coman Meets British Officials in London H 2
Libya Discusses Economic Cooperation Projects H 2
Briefs: PRC Anniversary Marked H 2

YUGOSLAVIA

Media Reports Developments at Solidarity Congress I 1
Soviet Attitude I 1
Self-Management Resolution I 1
Vrhovec's Activities at UNGA Session Reported I 1
Meets With Kittani, Others I 1
Talk With Journalists I 2
Vrhovec Returns From Session I 4
Kostic Meets U.S. Treasury Secretary Regan I 4
[POLITIKA 30 Sep]
Milos Minic Holds Talks With U.S. Ambassador I 5
Bulgarian Paper's 'Anti-Yugoslav' Commentary Noted I 5
New Bill on All-People's Defense in Preparation I 5
Report on SAWPY Federal Conference Session I 7
Discussion of Delegates I 7
Siroka Address I 9
'Nothing Must Surprise Us' Defense Action Noted I 10
Alimpic Addresses Backa Palanka Meeting I 11
Commentator Sees LCY Reverse 'Disintegration' I 12
VJESNIK Interviews Slovene SAWP's Ribicic I 13
[19 Sep]
JAT Faces Fuel Shortages, Reduction in Flights I 16
Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium Meets I 17
Dragasi Communal Conference Presidency Meets I 17
Pristina's Gasi on Action Against Enemy Activity I 17
Sarajevo Radio to Start Experimental Program I 18
University Council on Cooperation With Tirana I 19
Nuclear Powerplant Begins Supplying Electricity I 20

HOXHA, POLITBURO ATTEND TIRANA AWP CONFERENCE

AU031612 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Timo Luto report on proceedings of 22nd Tirana District AWP Conference held at Tirana Institute of Arts -- no date given]

[Summary] The working people of Tirana District are coming to this conference with numerous successes in all fields and with considerable results in plan fulfillment, the technical and scientific revolution, with unbreakable unity with the AWP and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha and determined to advance further on the path traced by the party. The industrial production plan was exceeded by 23 million leks and production costs reduced 36 million leks over and above the plan. The working people in the agricultural sector also achieved good results.

The delegates to the conference took their seats in the hall of the Institute of Arts. AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary Ramiz Alia was present as delegate of the AWP Central Committee. Tirana District AWP secretary Xhelil Gjoni opened the proceedings proposing that the Politburo headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha be seated in the Presidium as guests of honor. The delegates approved with ovations.

Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee, delivered a report entitled: "Let Us Raise the Party's Ideopolitical and Organizational Work, Let Us Deepen the Technical and Scientific Revolution and Let Us Raise the Effectiveness of the National Economy."

After the debate on the report, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He greeted the conference on behalf of the AWP Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha persoanlly. Ramiz Alia mentioned in his speech that the Tirana AWP is a militant and mature organization with a high ideological and political standard. The strengthening of the party's role must go on uninterrupted. The work of the party is creative and beautiful and inspires the people when it is performed with agility, bringing joy to them and incrasing their confidence in the future, turning them into bold and resolute fighters. The work of the party organization is measured by its results in implementing the party's directives and by the extent of the involvement of every communist and all working people in the struggle to implement and defend the party's line and ideology. All that has been and is being done in our country under the party's leadership is in the service of the working people, whose lives today differ from the past as day is from night. The purpose of production is to serve man and his needs. The development of production has always raised difficult problems requiring solutions and a high degree of involvement by the cadres and specialists. Great tasks are facing the country in the current 5-year period in the development of the technical and scientific revolution, particularly in view of the fact that they will be carried out relying entirely on our own efforts. The possibilities are great: We now have a higher scientific, technical, material and organizational potential, particularly here in Tirana. The work done in Tirana, however, must serve not only the district's needs, but also those of the entire country.

Ramiz Alia went on to say that the party's work in the ideological and cultural fields must be continuous. "Our people must follow the situations arising in the world and understand the tasks arising therefrom in raising their vigilance, fulfilling plans and strengthening the country's defense. This means that our ideopolitical work must be further improved to enable the communists and all the working people to view their tasks in the light of the situations arising both within and outside the country. Everyone must work tirelessly to further temper and steel the party's unity and the political and moral unity of the people around the party. This need to strengthen political cultural work also applies in the cultural and artistic sectors. The ideological effectiveness of literature, culture and the arts must be further increased."

The conference then proceeded to elect the district's AWP organs and delegates to the 8th AWP Congress.

Other District Conferences

AU031837 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian in its issues from 24 September through 1 October publishes on page two a series of dispatches on the proceedings of AWP conferences in a number of districts. The dispatches, ranging from 1,000-1,500 words, outline the respective districts' achievements in various fields: industry, agriculture, the socio-cultural sector, achievements in the scientific-technical revolution, the work carried out by the district party organizations in implementing awp policies and directives and so forth, based on the reports delivered by the district party first secretaries. The dispatches also mention the names of at least some of the delegates who took the floor on various subjects and give the names of the delegates attending the conferences on behalf of the AWP Central Committee. According to the dispatches, the conferences also elected the new party forums in the respective districts and the delegates to the 8th AWP Congress due to begin in Tirana on 1 November. The dispatches also report on the election of the first secretaries of the district party committees. With one exception, Gjirokaster District, no dates are indicated as to when the conferences were held, the dispatches merely stating that they were held "recently."

In Librazhd district, the conference was attended by AWP Central Committee member Mehmet Karakushi as delegate of the AWP Central Committee. Hysen Faqolli was reelected as first secretary of the District Party Committee.

AWP CC member Aranit Cela represented the AWP CC at the 23d Tropoje District Party Conference, and Faik Kopaci was reelected as party secretary.

The Gjirokaster District AWP held its conference on 26-27 September and was attended by 173 delegates. The conference was addressed by AWP CC Politburo candidate member Qirjako Mihali and reelected Sihat Tozaj as first secretary.

AWP CC member Miti Nito represented the AWP CC at the 22d AWP conference in Permet District; Qemal Bregasi was reelected first secretary.

In Mirdite District, the AWP CC was represented by Muho Asllani and Koco Orgocka was reelected first secretary.

AWP CC member and chairman of the State Planning Commission Petro Dode attended the AWP conference in Berat District. Mine Guri (f) was reelected first secretary of the District Party Committee.

In Kruje District, the conference reelected Xhemal Dymylja as first secretary. Themie Thomai, AWP CC member and minister of agriculture, represented the AWP Central Committee.

AWP CC member Xhorxhi Robo attended the AWP conference in Tepelene District, which reelected Manxhar Bino as first secretary of the District Party Committee.

The Elbasan District party conference was attended by Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and secretary; Pirro Kondi, the incumbent first secretary of the District Party Committee, was reelected.

Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions, represented the AWP Central Committee at the 23rd Vlore District party conference, which reelected Sulejman Baholli as first secretary.

AWP CC member Behar Shtylla attended the party conference in Pogradec District, where Stili Kaskaviqi was reelected first secretary.

Vito Kapo, AWP CC member and president of the Albanian Women's Union, attended the Lezhe District party conference. Mentor Muca was reelected first secretary.

AWP CC candidate member Rrapo Dervishi represented the AWP Central Committee at the 21st AWP conference in Gramsh District, where Manxhar Fejzo was elected new first secretary of the District Party Committee.

ZERI I POPULLIT 22 September also carries a dispatch on the proceedings of the sixth conference of a military unit identified solely with the letter "N." There is no indication as to where this unit is stationed or whether it represents a garrison or military command area. This conference was attended by AWP CC Politburo member Pali Miska as representative of the AWP Central Committee. The dispatch contains a 200-word summary of his speech, in which he drew attention to "some important problems confronting the unit's party organization and organs, as well as their insturments." He urged that revolutionary vigilance be sharpened, training intesified, the mastery of the art of people's warfare acquired and the leading role of the party organization elevated.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 26 September also reports on page two on the party conference in another military unit, also identified only with the letter "N," which was attended by Veli Llakaj, AWP CC member and chief of the General Staff, who is reported to have addressed the conference. No details are given.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION -- Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania received Francesco Carlo Gentile, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Italy to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the reception hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on 17 September. The Italian ambassador presented his credentials. Taking part in the credentials presentation ceremony were foreign minister Nesti Nase Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Justin Papajorgji, director of the Fourth Directorate of the Foreign Affairs Ministry; and Jovan Antonio, director of the Protocol Branch of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The ambassador was accompanied by (Gian Paolo Scarante), embassy first secretary, and other diplomats. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 81 AU]

DOMESTIC TRADE SEMINAR -- The Ministry of Domestic Trade organized a seminar for propagation and generalization of Durres District's experience in the trading livestock byproducts in the countryside after the herding together of private livestock in Durres District on 22 September. Taking part in the seminar were workers and directors of agriculture from various districts. Also taking part were Hekuran Isai, politburo member and secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Domestic Trade Minister Viktor Nushi; and Isa Kurti, chairman of the district's people's council Executive Committee. The work done until now was discussed and further tasks were defined. Hekuran Isai also spoke at the seminar. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 22 Sep 81 AU]

PRIVATE LIVESTOCK -- The Lushnje District Party Committee plenum has sent a letter to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, reporting that the herding together of private livestock throughout the district has been completed, including the herding together of 7,000 heads of cattle. All necessary measures to ensure good husbandry and the fodder base have been adopted, including the construction of 175 stables. In addition, 98 shops have been built in villages to sell the products of these herds to the cooperativists and 13 centers have been created to process dairy products. Since the campaign started, yields have increased, damage to socialist property through the grazing of private livestock has been reduced and many new hands have been added to the workforce of cooperatives. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 81 AU]

FIRST POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS CONTINUES

AU051256 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[BTA correspondent's report from Gdansk -- read by announcer]

[Text] At yesterday afternoon's session of the Solidarity congress two problems contributed to keeping up the high tension in the Oliwia Hall where the first congress of the Solidarity trade union continues.

The various links of this trade union throughout the country are publishing hundreds of bulletins and small newspapers, which are being widely distributed among the Polish public. The Solidarity leaders will not allow the contents of these publications to be censored, for according to their editors they are allegedly "for internal use". They are being used for slanders against the socialist system in Poland, against the Soviet Union and against the countries of our socialist community. The public prosecution organs have stopped the distribution of a number of publications containing anti-Soviet and antisocialist materials. Some of the editors are being prosecuted.

The Chief Public Prosecutor's Office has started a prosecution against the Solidarity organ in the city of [name indistinct] in which certain facts and reality in the Soviet Union are being distorted in the most outrageous manner, and Polish-Soviet economic relations are also grossly distorted. In this connection at a press conference, representatives of the publications against which the public legislation organs are taking legal action, threatened "new days without press".

This is being done for the purpose of diverting the attention of the congress delegates from the main questions, just as the debates about the question of the price increases for cigarettes and matches are. At the request of Solidarity, Marian Krzak, minister of finance and Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Prices Committee, arrived in Gdansk, in order to defend this measure of the government. It appears that the responsible representatives of the National Consultative Committee [two names indistinct] had declared the consent of the trade union to the government decision to increase the prices of these goods. Now that this measure is becoming valid, they are denying this and inciting the Solidarity members to new protest actions. The talks in the Oliwia Hall lasted throughout the night, but did not produce any results. Numerous delegates behaved in an arrogant and insolent manner toward the two ministers. The meeting ended with a rude statement by Lech Walesa, the leader of the Solidarity trade union, who expressed an ultimatum asking the government to cancel the government decision and threatened that the "cigarette war" will lead to the downfall of the government.

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT FRIENDSHIP RALLY FOR ANGOLA

AU051728 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council at Bulgarian-Angolan friendship rally held at the Soviet Universiada Hall on 5 October -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, dear friends from the People's Republic of Angola, comrades.

I would like, above all, on behalf of all here present at this friendship rally, on behalf of all socialist Bulgaria, to welcome most sincerely our dear guests from the People's Republic of Angola. [applause]

Through you, dearest comrade dos Santos and through those who are accompanying you, we convey ardent fraternal greetings to the industrious and heroic Angolan people. Today's festive meeting is an emotional expression of the fraternal solidarity between the Bulgarian communists and Bulgarian working people with the people of struggling Angola.

It is an expression of the respect and love of the Bulgarian people for the sons and daughters of the People's Republic of Angola. [applause] It is precisely because of this great and intense friendship that we respond with concern and alarm to the news about the new predatory aggression committed by the South African Republic against independent Angola. Our stand is unmistable and categorical. We are at your side. We are with our comrades and brothers from the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - the Labor Party; we are with the people of Angola. We are at the side of all of them against all those who make attempts against the freedom, territorial integrity and revolutionary achievements of the Angolan people. [applause] We are together with all progressive mankind in resolutely insisting that the criminal South African aggression should immediately stop, that all troops of the South African Republic should be withdrawn at once from Angolan territory. [applause].

Comrades,

I remember with emotion and gratitude the exceptionally warm hospitality accorded to the Bulgarian party and state delegation which visited the People's Republic of Angola in 1978. It is a cherished memory for all of us, especially the meetings and talks with Dr Agostinho Neto, the glorious son of the Angolan people and of Africa, the remarkable patriot, the great internationalist and the great champion of Bulgarian-Angolan friendship. He was also a winner of the Dimitrov International Peace Prize. We remember and will always remember the days spent on Angolan territory, under the blue skies of that country; we will remember the meetings with our Angolan friends. Your visit to our country, dear Angolan friends, represents a new impressive demonstration of the ascending development of our friendship and cooperation.

The Bulgarian people are rejoicing at the successes which the people of Angola have achieved under the leadership of the MPLA -- Labor Party, headed by you, esteemed Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos! It is an honor for us that here at this rally of Bulgarian-Angolan friendship you are among us, the close collaborator and follower of the work of Agnostinho Neto, the esteemed and loved party and state leader of new Angola. [applause] The great successes achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the historical 5th MPLA Congress and of the First Extraordinary Congress of the MPLA - Labor Party for the construction of the foundations of socialism in your country are giving joy to every Bulgarian citizen because these are the successes of our comrades in ideas and struggle.

The date of 11 November 1975 is a bright date in the history of Angola. The long struggle of your country and people against the colonizers was crowned with success. Relying upon the fraternal powerful assistance of the USSR, of Cuba and of the other socialist countries, the people of Angola were victorious, they are victorious and they will be victorious. [applause] Vain were and will be the attempts of imperialism, of reaction inside and outside the country to suppress your young and independent state. The Angolan people, overcoming enormous difficulties, are confidently advancing along the path they have chosen, and we firmly believe in the brilliant future of free Angola.

Dear Angolan friends, from the very beginning of your glorious and just struggle for national and social liberation, the Bulgarian communists have assisted and supported you. It was precisely in those difficult times that the fraternal relations between the BCP and the MPLA, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, were established and strengthened. Today we are fully justified in stating: The relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola are relations of militant, unshakable friendship, relations of sincere friendship and of comprehensive cooperation. [applause] We are joined together by common ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism. We are linked together by the common goal -- the building of socialism in our two countries. The relations between our two countries, parties and peoples are constantly expanding, they are being intensified and further developed on the basis of the existing friendship and cooperation treaty. Our cooperation in the sectors of agriculture, machine-building, energy, transportation and culture is developing on this basis.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has opened wide the doors of its universities and of the other higher educational institutions in order to train with knowledge and experience the future physicians, engineers, agronomists and architects of your young republic. All Bulgarian specialists who are serving in the fields, in the factories, in the health and educational institutions of Angola are sharing their knowledge and experience with you. What else, what better and more eloquent example can there be of our friendship?

Esteemed comrades, the ruling circles of the United States are responsible for the fact that peace and international security are seriously threatened today. The United States is increasingly intensifying the arms race. The decisions of the Reagan administration to produce neutron weapons and deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territories of Western Europe represent a new antihumanitarian action; they represent a true provocation against mankind. Trying to change the balance of forces to its own advantage, the United States is undermining the process of detente, the United States is trying to impose its will on other peoples from a position of strength and threats. The United States is fanning old and new hotbeds of tensions, it is declaring one or another area as spheres of its own vital interests. The United States is creating rapid deployment forces, it is amassing troops in various parts of the globe. The conspiracy of the most reactionary imperialist circles with the Chinese hegemonists is particularly dangerous for peace. The attempts of imperialism, however, are meeting resolute and firm resistance. The black ghost of mass and deadly weapons of destruction is antagonizing statesmen, politicians and public figures as well as millions of people. Their aspirations are for peace and social progress, for creative labor and a peaceful life. The attempts of imperialism to attach the label of "international terrorism" to the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements, to deny the sacred right of these peoples to fight for their national independence and for social progress, represents an ineffective disguise for the imperialists' sinister intentions to suppress the peoples' struggle and to preserve its domination over them.

There is no doubt whatsoever that this new superdoctrine of the imperialist politicians can by no means deceive anyone and is doomed to failure. The manly and heroic struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, against the dictatorships supported by the United States are an eloquent example of this. The attempts of the Chinese hegemonists to subjugate the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, to their own great-state aspirations are also in vain. The people of Afghanistan have once and for all rejected the centuries-old backwardness. They defend with manly courage their own right to build a new life, they are consistently following the path of the April revolution for independence and democratic development. There is yet another alarming problem in international life. The United States is supporting Israel, which continues to illegally occupy the robbed Arab territories. The separatist deals of Camp David are only serving imperialism, they are against the interests of the Arab peoples and serve to keep up tension in the Middle East area. As has been pointed out on several occasions, a peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East crisis can be achieved only when all territories robbed in 1967 have been returned by Israel. Only when the Palestinian people have the right to establish their own fatherland under the leadership of their only legitimate representative, the PLO, will this problem be solved. Another, no less alarming problem of international life is the fact that the South African Republic enjoys the tremendous economic, diplomatic, military and other assistance of the United States and that it continues to conduct a bloodthirsty policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. It continues to illegally occupy the terroritories of Zimbabwe. There is even more: The South African racists are also carrying out armed provocations against sovereign African states. From this high rostrum I would like to loudly declare: We will continue to render support to the fighting people of the South African Republic headed by their vanguards -- the African National Congress and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]. [applause]

In the present complicated international situation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a member of the socialist community together with the other socialist countries, is consistnetly conducting its peace-loving and principle-minded policy. Our goal is to strengthen mutual understanding as well as cooperation among peoples. We are in favor of detente and the calming of the international atmosphere, we are in favor of stopping the arms race, we are in favor of large-scale and economic cooperation based on equal rights, with all countries, we are in favor of establishing a lasting peace in all parts of our planet. We are supporting the peaceful proposals submitted by the 26th CPSU Congress and we support the Supreme Soviet appeal to the parliaments and peoples throughout the world. We are ardently supporting the most recent Soviet peace initiatives for preventing nuclear war submitted to the 36th United Nations General Assembly session.

All the initiatives which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is undertaking for the sake of detente, peace and cooperation are also [illegible] this constructive spirit. Yes, now more than ever, it is unmistakably clear: There is no and there can be no more urgent and responsible task than the task of preserving peace. This is peace for the present and future generations, it is peace for us, for our children and grandchildren. This goal is highly humanitarian and noble, it unites and must unite the thoughts and will of all democratic, all peace-loving forces in all continents, without distinctions of political views, religions and races.

Dear comrades, this year is a particularly important year for all of us. It is a jubilee year. We are celebrating the 1,300th anniversary of the creation of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the foundation of our revolutionary and Marxist party. This year is the 25th anniversary of the historical April plenum of the BCP Central Committee. This year the 12th Congress of Bulgarian Communists also took place and it mapped out the path of our country in the coming period.

All this is wonderful, it fills us with joy and with justified pride, with well-deserved satisfaction and with faith in the future. At the same time, however, we are well aware of the fact that all jubilees and events of 1981 are the results and fruits of the struggle, efforts, and deeds of our glorious people. Our people, the Bulgarian people, went through many trials and great suffering in order to achieve the present victory of an ascending socialist society.

Our conviction is that this year the Bulgarian working people are enthusiastically accomplishing specific deeds and are aspiring to them. They are rejoicing at and hoping for realistic and feasible successes. We can say with great and real satisfaction: All of us, the Bulgarian workers class, the Bulgarian working peasants, the people's intelligentsia, all of us, the young and the old, are working well and with good results. There are only 3 months left in the present jubilee year, 1981, but these three, comrades, are the decisive ones for our tasks and plans.

It is well known that it is not the athlete who leads part of the way, but the one who crosses the finish line who wins the competition. Therefore, we must remember that the last 3 months of 1981 are decisive for implementing the plan as a whole. Let the year's finish line be the wreath of our inspiration, efforts, work and creativity. If I can again use the language of sports -- I am appealing to the entire people to successfully reach the finish line. I call upon you -- the heroic workers class, the peasants and the working intelligentsia -- to strive toward the finish line. Our Central Committee is calling you to strenuous and creative work for implementing the tasks which we have set and thus worthily greet the coming year of 1982. [applause] Let us have the awareness and the feeling that the implementation of the 1981 plan will be a new achievement in our constant socialist construction aimed at implementing the practical program outlined by the 12th BCP Congress. Therefore, I call upon the workers class and all builders of socialism in Bulgaria to struggle for high productivity of social labor, high quality of production, effective utilization of raw materials, fuels and energy, timely and effective harvesting and completion of the autumn farmwork and implementation of the annual plan according to all indexes.

Thus, we will have the right to fulfill with dignity our fraternal duty to the 1,300th anniversary of our motherland -- ancient and young in its socialist way.

Comrades, all our guests from abroad who visit Bulgaria, as the representatives of the Angolan people are now visiting us, note our successes in all areas of life. It is so. We have many successes and do not suffer from modesty. Of course, we know very well that on our way there are difficulties: weaknesses are allowed and there are unsolved problems. However, we have repeated many times and will again repeat, because we are communists, that the strength of the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people derives from its struggle to carry out the tasks and overcome the difficulties and weaknesses. Our strength is in our dissatisfaction with what has been achieved and in our constant striving to reach new heights. Let us always remember the slogan with which our 12th congress ended: Deeds, deeds and more deeds!

Dear Angolan brothers! The present fraternal visit of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, MPLA-Labor Party chairman and president of the People's Republic of Angola, marks a new and bright page in the annals of our friendship. Our talks on the problems of international relations and our bilateral relations took place in an atmosphere of full agreement of views and understanding. We are convinced that our relations will continue to further develop and strengthen in the name of the happiness and prosperity of our two peoples and in the interest of peace and security throughout the world.

Please allow me, dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on behalf of the hospitable Bulgarian people, to wish the MPLA-Labor Party, the Angolan people, and you personally, dear Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, even greater successes in your glorious struggle for constructing friendly Angola! [applause]

We shall always be with you, dear Angolan friends! [applause]

Let the People's Republic of Angola develop and prosper! [applause]

Let the friendship between the BCP and the MPLA-Labor Party strengthen! [applause]

Long live the Bulgarian-Angolan friendship! [applause]

Let the cause of peace and socialism triumph! [prolonged applause, chants of "eternal friendship!"]

DELEGATION ARRIVES IN CSSR FOR ECONOMIC TALKS

LD051848 Prague CTK in English 1714 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Oct (CETEKA) -- A Bulgarian delegation led by Deputy Premier Grigor Stoichkov arrived here Monday for the 21st session of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CUBA SIGNED IN SOFIA

FL052336 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Bulgaria and Cuba have reached agreement on a joint plan to exchange high-demand merchandise valued at 200,000 rubles for the coming year. This represents a 15 percent increase over the current year. The agreement signed today in Sofia by the two countries' vice ministers of foreign [as heard] trade, Nedyu Ivanov and Manuel Sanz Farras, respectively, includes a protocol that provides for the continuation of Bulgaria's technical aid to local Cuban industries and the training of 70 Cuban specialists in the brother country. Cuba will also avail itself of Bulgaria's expertise in the area of organization and financing of enterprises.

ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO FOUNDRY CONGRESS READ

AU051315 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Report on the opening of the International Foundry Work Congress in Varna on 5 Oct -- recorded]

[Summary] The 48th International Foundry Work Congress has opened at the Varna Palace of Culture and Sports. This congress is taking place under the patronage of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council and under the auspices of the International Association of Technical Unions.

Academician Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and chairman of the organizational committee for the congress, opened the session. Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and numerous local leaders from Varna City and Okrug, as well as guests from all over the world attended the opening session.

"Comrade Todor Bozhinov read a greetings message to the congress on behalf of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman. The message stresses that our foundry experts and the Bulgarian public accept the election of socialist Bulgaria to host the 48th International Foundry Work Congress as a well deserved expression of esteem and recognition for our efforts and achievements in this important sector of human activities.

"Your congress is taking place in the year in which Bulgaria is celebrating the 1,300th anniversary of its state. In their long history the Bulgarian people have lived through many struggles and trials, through many lofty aspirations and noble efforts until they reached the present-day prosperity of our economy and culture, after they resolutely and once for all chose the path of constructive, socialist construction, 37 years ago. Within such a short historical period socialist Bulgaria was transformed from a backward agrarian country into an industrialized country, with priority given to the machine building sector. We have educated highly qualified scientific and technical cadres and we are continuing to build up steadily a large range of machinery and equipment, which are being produced on a highly developed technical level.

"We will continue in the future to devote considerable attention to the continuous modernization of our foundry plants, the greetings address further points out. We will expand mechanization and automation in order to transform foundry work into a basic industrial branch attracting the interest of numerous workers and specialists, in order to transform it into a solid basic sector of our machine-building industry. We will also widely develop mutually advantageous scientific-technical and trade cooperation in this branch of industry.

"I stress with pleasure that the work of the congress will be held under the meaningful slogan, 'foundry work, progress and environment,' the greetings messages states in conclusion. This is a slogan of creative labor and of the peace to which mankind aspires. It is inspired by the wish for universal progress -- which is the fundamental prerequisite for all creative activities."

Comrade Zhivkov's message was listened to with great attention and greeted by applause.

The floor was further given to Prof Goro (Ohira), president of the International Association of Technical Unions, who greeted the delegates and guests, expressing his pleasure that the 48th Foundry Work Congress is taking place in Varna and his gratitude for the excellent preparation of this international event of great importance.

HOFFMANN MEETS WITH POLISH BRANCH UNION OFFICIALS

Szyszka, Siwak in Ostrava

LD052144 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Karel Hoffmann, its chairman, met in Ostrava today with a delegation of the National Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions of the Polish People's Republic led by Albin Szyszka, chairman of the commission, and Albin Siwak, deputy chairman of the construction workers trade union.

During the meeting the cooperation of both trade union organizations and individual trade union associations was highly appreciated. In this connection the question of the employment of Polish workers in Czechoslovakia was discussed.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Hoffmann assured the Polish comrades of the full support of Czechoslovak trade union members for the activity of the National Coordinating Commission and branch associations [resortni svazy]

Discussion With Siwak

LD052146 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, today met with Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. They discussed some topical questions of the present development in the Polish People's Republic and the role of the revolutionary trade unions in the defense and strengthening of the socialist system.

Siwak on Personal Attacks

LD060450 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Interview given by Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, to unidentified Prague Television reporter in Ostrava on 5 October; questions asked and answers given in Polish with superimposed Slovak translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] What are the conditions in Poland at the moment? I know that your family and you in particular have become the victims of many attacks.

[Answer] My family now lives a somewhat more peaceful life, but the attacks against me continue -- all-out attacks by Solidarity. At the moment, a lot is being imputed to me -- drunkenness, thievery, and allegedly I am not even a Pole but was imported from the Soviet Union a few years ago. Anything bad that can be said about a person has been fabricated about me. And this all takes place because I speak up clearly and resolutely about the hostile activities of Solidarity, although in fact I speak not so much about the union itself as about its leadership, its very well-paid officials who have confused people so much that they no longer know in what direction they are being dragged by these officials. They attack me because I am revealing this danger and trying to open the peop'e's eyes.

[Question] How do you assess the help given to your struggle by the reactions of the trade unions of the socialist countries?

[Answer] Your help is quite straightforward and very much needed.

SOLIDARITY REACTION TO TOBACCO PRICE HIKE NOTED

LD051014 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0400 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] The prices of tobacco products are going up in Poland as from today. According to a statement made by the Polish finance minister, Marian Krzak, the increases are on average about 95 percent but in some cases tobacco prices will increase by as much as 120 percent.

Delegates to the congress of the Walesa trade union organization in Gdansk have used the announcement about the price hike of tobacco products as a pretext to launch further attacks against the Polish Government. During a debate yesterday they demanded that this decision be withdrawn, and some of them even threatened to place workers on strike alert or to call them out altogether.

Lech Walesa sent a threatening telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, demanding the withdrawal of this decision, which had not been discussed with the Walesa trade union organization. The chairman of the Council of Ministers decided yesterday to send Finance Minister Marian Krzak to explain the situation.

The presentation of candidates to the membership of the National Coordinating Commission continued during the congress yesterday. The candidates used their brief speeches to disparage further the party and state leadership and to attack the party's leading role and the socialist ownership of the means of production. They declared demagogically that if they are elected they will work for the strengthening of the private sector in the Polish economy, for ensuring that the Walesa trade union organization has access to the media, and for a change in the state system in Poland.

SOLIDARITY BLAMED FOR DROP IN POLISH COAL OUTPUT

AU051516 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 81 p 7

[Miloslav Vitek commentary in the "Notes" column: "In Whose Interest?"]

[Text] Poland is short of coal. Industry, agriculture and households suffer from the shortage and also traditional foreign consumers are waiting mostly in vain for agreed deliveries and are turning to other producers. Whereas in the past years some 200 million tons of coal used to be extracted in Poland annually, this year this amount will drop to barely 160 million tons.

The decline in coal production has been caused by strikes and, in particular, by the introduction of the 5-day workweek in the mines. The "Solidarity" leaders are doing all they can to prevent coal extraction from rising again so that every thinking person must ask why. In the interest of the miners, perhaps?

In the Petrowski mine a secret ballot was organized about whether the miners want to help society and, on a voluntary basis and under advantageous conditions, work on some of the free Saturdays. Because there was a guarantee that the ballot would really be secret, which in other words meant that the "Solidarity" chiefs would not be able to find out how individual miners had voted, the absolute majority of the miners expressed themselves in favor of Saturday work, according to the principle that they are entitled to a 5-day work week but the situation requires that they go down to the pit at least 6 times a week. The local "Solidarity" leaders could not accept such an answer and, as reported by the Polish press, began to organize public rallies, conducted according to the principle "let anyone dare to try to repeat in public what he said in the secret ballot." And the government is thus receiving "spontaneously" adopted resolutions expressing opposition to Saturday work in the mines.

Why are the "Solidarity" chiefs trying to reduce the level of coal production at all costs? After all, winter is drawing near and mere words will not provide warmth to anyone!

It is being shouted from the Polish rooftops that "big fish" are involved in the game -- large international coal cartels that profit from the lower quantities of high-quality Polish bituminous coal on international markets and large sums of money that go into "Solidarity's" pocket if not into the private pockets of some of its chiefs.

OFFICIALS MEET WITH PORTUGUESE PARTY DELEGATES

Husak Receives Cunhal

LD051944 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Oct (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and president, opened talks here Monday with a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, which is on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

During the meeting, which took place in the atmosphere of traditional friendship, Gustav Husak highly appreciated mutual cooperation and the strengthening of international solidarity between the two parties, and pointed out the principled and internationalist policy of the Portuguese Communist Party.

He expressed the fraternal solidarity of Czechoslovak communists and people with the struggle of the Portuguese Communist Party for democratic and social rights of workers, its defence of positive results of the April revolution, especially of the approved constitution and land reform.

Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, who is leading the delegation, informed Gustav Husak about the struggle of his party against the policy of the ruling circles, who subordinate Portuguese interests to the NATO pact, against foreign bases and the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Portuguese territory.

Both sides exchanged their opinions on some aspects of the international communist and workers' movement, and the topical problems of the present international policy.

They highly appreciated the achieved level of mutual relations based on the firm principles of Marxist-Leninist and internationalist solidarity.

Later the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party left Prague for Bratislava.

Officials Attending Talks

LD052120 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Talks with a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party opened in Prague today. The deliberations, which took place in an atmosphere of traditional friendship, were attended for the CPCZ by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, secretary of the Central Committee; Vratislav Vajnar, member of the Central Committee and head of the Secretariat of the general secretary; and Michal Stefanak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and deputy head of a department.

Present for the Portuguese Communist Party were Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary; Francisco Lopes, member of the Central Committee and the leadership of the city organization in Lisbon; and Albano Nunes, member of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party and head of the international relations department.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER URBAN RETURNS FROM IRAQ

LD051906 Prague CTK in English 1735 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Oct (CTK)-- Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban returned here on Monday from his visit to Iraq for the Baghdad internationl fair.

During his short visit, Bohumil Urban discussed questions of the further develoment of economic relations with Iraqi Minister of Trade Hasan 'Ali, Minister of Industry and Minerals Tah'r at-Tawfid and Minister of Oil Tay'h 'Abd al'Karim.

The Czechoslovak minister was also received by Saddam Husayn, Iraqi president and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council.

OFFICIALS SIGN LABOR TRAINING AGREEMENT WITH CUBA

FL051847 Havana Television Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] An agreement designed to provide technical training to young Cuban workers was signed by the Cuban State Committee for Labor, Wage [as heard] and Social Security and the CSSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The document was signed by M. Kysely, duputy minister of the CSSR Ministry of Labor, and by Hector Martinez, vice minister of the respective Cuban organization.

By virtue of the agreement, 2,000 more students will work and train next year in different trades in 66 enterprises of the CSSR. Eight hundred student-workers will soon conclude specialized studies in mechanics, electricity, and lathe operation and so forth in the CSSR.

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES TUDEH PARTY

AU021155 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Report signed "Z": "Congratulations to Iran"]

[Text] Prague, 30 Sep -- The CPCZ Central Committee has sent a telegram to the party of the masses [Tudeh] of Iran, congratulating it on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its founding. The telegram says, among other things, that in its history the party had to overcome the hardest tests. During the anti-imperialist and antimonarchist revolution it again took up the struggle for the reconstruction of Iranian society. In this heroic and courageous struggle, the CPCZ Central Committee wishes the party of the masses of Iran much success.

STROUGAL CONGRATULATES PRC ON NATIONAL DAY

AU021153 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 81 p 1

[CTK report: "On National Day"]

[Text] Prague, 30 Sep (CTK) -- CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent Zhao Ziyang, chairman of the PRC State Council, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of his country's national day.

LEADERS MARK PEOPLE'S ARMY DAY OBSERVANCE

LD051404 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] To mark the 37th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation and Czechoslovak People's Army Day, Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, presented high state decorations, the Orders of the Red Star, to members of the armed forces, in Prague today.

They had been conferred on them by the president of the republic in recognition of their long active service in the Czechoslovak armed forces. Present at the ceremony was Eugen Turzo, director of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee; generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army, and representatives of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states. Minister Martin Dzur also presented the annual Vit Nejedly prizes to seven individuals and to one collective of artists and cultural workers.

Leaders Meet With Delegation

LD051808 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received a 50-member army delegation at Prague Castle today, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation and the day of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The delegation was led by Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense.

Also present were members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium -- Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Josef Kempny and Josef Korcak; candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium -- Miloslav Hruskovic; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee -- Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik; Miroslav Capka, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ; and Eugen Turzo, head of department of the Central Committee.

Comrade Martin Dzur recalled the fighting of Czechoslovak and Soviet soldiers in the Carpathians in the autumn of 1944, which began the liberation of Czechoslovakia. The class consciousness, Martin Dzur, went on, the patriotic and internationalist feelings of our soldiers demonstrate themselves in fruitful efforts to implement the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. With initiative and with responsibility, they approach the fulfillment of challenging tasks of fighting and political training, and the safeguarding of a continuous high fighting and mobilization readiness. Comrade Martin Dzur then paid tribute to the understanding and support of the top party and state bodies, on which the Czechoslovak People's Army can rely during the solution of important tasks.

He assured the top party and state representatives that members of the army will continue to increase the fighting power of our people's army, to strengthen the indestructible friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army was then addressed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic.

Leaders Attend Reception

LD060026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, tonight hosted a cordial reception in the Cernin Palace in Prague to mark the 37th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation and the Czechoslovak People's Army Day. Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, members of the party Central Committee Presidium Josef Kempny and Josef Korcak, Central Committee Secretaries Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik, and other personalities were present.

BRIEFS

TOURISM WITH ALGERIA DISCUSSED -- The CSSR Government Committee for Tourism, which held a meeting in Prague on 29 September, discussed -- among other things -- a draft agreement on cooperation in tourism with Algeria. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 81 p 2 AU]

STATE SECRETARY BEIL MEETS DANISH PRIME MINISTER

AU011524 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Summary] Copenhagen -- "At the invitation of Erling Jensen, Danish minister of industry, trade and maritime transportation, GDR State Secretary Gerhard Beil visited Denmark on Monday and Tuesday." In the talks with the Danish minister and leading figures of Denmark's economy, it was agreed that the trade and economic relations between the GDR and Denmark have developed positively and that they will be expanded on the basis of the principle of mutual advantage. During his official visit to Denmark, Gerhard Beil was received for a talk by Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen. "Proceeding from the good level of bilateral relations, the partners in the talks affirmed that the further shaping of economic cooperation in the present international situation is mutually advantageous and can also be a stabilizing factor."

ENVOY CONVEYS ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO HONECKER

LD051510 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1430 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Vulcho Naydenov Lenov, Bulgarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, for a talk. Vulcho Naydenov Lenov conveyed a personal message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

In the course of a friendly discussion, Erich Honecker most cordially reciprocated the greetings conveyed by Todor Zhivkov.

HONECKER RECEIVES ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR 5 OCT

LD051928 East German ADN International Service in German 1546 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council today received Dr Gheorghe Tache, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the GDR. Their talks concerned questions of mutual interest.

In the discussion, which took place in a friendly and open atmosphere, the two men expressed their satisfaction about the state of development of relations between the two states and peoples.

The greetings sent by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, were cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

MITTAG ADDRESSES SOVIET, POLISH WORKERS

LD051942 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] The significance of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR for the development of the GDR economy was discussed today by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. During a friendly talk with Soviet specialists on the building site of the Jaenschwalde lignite power station, he said that the close cooperation contributed to further strengthening socialism in both countries and to safeguarding peace. He thanked the Soviet experts for their work.

At a meeting with representatives of Polish firms, Guenter Mittag paid tribute to the expert work of the collectives in the construction of the power station.

On the eve of GDR national day the first turbojet with an output of 500 megawatts today -- within the deadline -- bec ame fully operational in the Jaenschwalde lignite power station.

CHINESE AMBASSADOR GIVES ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION

AU021217 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the People's Republic of China, Chen Dong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the GDR, gave a reception in Berlin on Wednesday. The invitation was honored by Alfred Neumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Gerhard Beil, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign trade; and Herbert Krolikowski, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR were also present.

HONECKER RECEIVES NEW FRENCH AMBASSADOR

LD051516 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1442 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Maurice Deshors, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the GDR, who presented his letter of credence. Ambassador Deshors conveyed cordial greetings from President Francois Mitterrand, which Erich Honecker reciprocated.

In a subsequent talk, Erich Honecker paid tribute to the good relations between the GDR and France. Their future dynamic development is in accordance with the fundamental interests of both states and peoples, is significant for a lasting and secure peace and contributes to improving the international climate.

Ambassador Deshors affirmed the declared interest of his government in the maintenance of peace, the progress of detente and the intensification of mutually advantageous relations between the French Republic and the GDR.

PAUL VERNER PRESENTS MEDALS, AWARDS 5 OCT

LD051120 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] To mark the GDR national day meritorious personages and collectives were awarded high state distinctions this morning. Paul Verner, deputy chairman of the State Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the medals and certificates in the State Council building. In recognition of their merits in promoting understanding and friendship among the peoples as well as in building and advancing the socialist social system they were awarded the Star of International Friendship, the Clasp of Honour of the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold as well as the Patriotic Order of Merit.

Paul Verner stressed that the working people of the republic are optimistically implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. At a time when west of the state border (arms) madness is resulting in the elimination of social amenities and social insecurity, it is being confirmed with increasing clarity and evidence in the GDR that under socialism good work for society is also for the good of the individual.

More on Awards

LD052018 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Meritorious personages and collectives were awarded the Star of International Friendship, the Cluster of Honor of the Patriotic Order of Merit in Gold and the Patriotic Order of Merit in Berlin today to mark GDR national day.

The distinctions were presented by Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the Council of State and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Paul Verner.

In his speech, Horst Sindermann stressed the high esteem for performances in all social spheres which benefited the entire people. People's creative work was highly regarded in the GDR. He pointed to the danger posed by the most reactionary circles of imperialism at the present time through their vast expenditures on new weapons of destruction. In this way they were bringing the world to the brink of a nuclear abyss and were already destroying all social achievements in the lands they ruled.

HARRY TISCH SPEAKS AT FDGB CONFERENCE 2 OCT

LD021512 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] At the end of the 3-day scientific conference of the FDGB National Executive Committee in Berlin today, Harry Tisch called for the resolute defense of peace and consistent support for the Soviet disarmament proposals. The FDGB chairman said in his concluding speech that the people must work to stop the arms madness. The entire international trade union movement shares this responsibility. It is not in impotent, passive acceptance of the plans of the arms fanatics but only in determined repulsion of those plans that exists the possibility of preserving peace as the people's permanent and natural way of life.

This would also give new scope for the expansion of social security.

The basic conditions for successful trade union activity under socialism are a constantly clear class position, a partisan attitude and a developed understanding of what is currently at stake. These are modes of thought and behavior that, in accordance with need, are aimed at the strengthening of our social system.

Harry Tisch noted that the economy continues to stand at the center of our social policy. No efforts will be spared to achieve high growth in the GDR through competition. For this, the trade unions' views, initiatives and proposals concerning the planning, preparation and implementation of social policy are needed. it is also quite clear that it is only possible to make use of that which has already been produced.

More on Tisch Speech

LD022226 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 2 Oct 81

["Extract" from concluding speech by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, at scientific conference of the FDGB National Executive Committee held in Berlin -- recorded; date not given]

[Text] The historical review of the more than 100 years of struggle which we undertook in this conference lets us understand and acknowledge better the whole extent and historical implications of what has been achieved for the working person, for his social security and social protection, for the social development of the working class and all workers. We see ourselves as continuing the best traditions of the struggle of our revolutionary predecessors and we are continuing to develop it in a situation where the workers and peasants have the power. In this, dear colleagues, our trade unions have comprehensive rights at their disposal and carry great responsibility precisely for everything connected with the fundamental decisions as well as with the formation of everyday practice in the social field. In this country, we can say as of right now that the thoughts, the initiatives, the suggestions of the trade unions, their influence and participation in planning, preparation and implementation of social policy are desired and requested; indeed, they are demanded as indispensable.

Where socialism rules, there rules the principle of work, in the words of Karl Marx -- not, however, idle talk. What is the point, dear colleagues, if three people meet who represent seven different opinions? No piece of bread, no pound of meat, no piece of clothing will result from that. A better result at work and higher performance are what counts with us, and this creates self-respect in the worker who is consciously building socialism. [applause] And that is why the socialist competition developed into a great people's movement in preparation for the 19th SED Party Congress, and also now in the realization of its resolutions. That is why knowledge and aspiration are so in evidence with the aid of competition, in order to achieve above all by way of science and technology a strong growth in work and productivity. In this we are following what is recognised in Leninism, that for all the successes and the victory of socialism, work and productivity are ultimately the decisive factors. That is why we are fighting for highest efficiency and quality, for the most economical use of raw materials and energy.

The fundamental prerequisites for successful trade union activity in socialism are clear class positions, the accordance with party thought, a developed understanding of the issues of our time, thoughts and actions which correspond to the necessity to do everything which will strengthen socialism, and on the other hand to avoid everything which could be harmful to it. That this correct action and this avoidance is valid in all fields, is an important part of our work.

HOFFMANN, DICKEL ISSUE NATIONAL DAY ORDERS

LD061032 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0301 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 6 Oct (ADN) -- GDR Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann has issued an order of the day marking the 32d anniversary of the GDR. He congratulated the members and civilian workers of the National People's Army, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense of the GDR. The order of the day states "workers and farmers, all peace-loving people will continue to be able to rely on us."

The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police, Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, has also issued an order of the day conveying congratulations on the occasion of the GDR National Day to the sergeants, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals and civilian workers of the national police. It is underlined that the members of the national police and of the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior employ their knowledge and ability in comprehensively strengthening and protecting the GDR. In view of the further heightening and escalation of the situation brought about by the imperialist policy of confrontation, a further increase in fighting power, combat readiness and revolutionary vigilance is needed to halt any encroachment upon socialism.

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL BANK REPRESENTATIVE -- On 29 September Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent representative of the GDR to CEMA, received Konstantin Ivanovich Nasarkin, chairman of the Directorate of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, who is in the GDR for a working visit. The talk, which was attended by Horst Kaminsky, president of the GDR State Bank, centered on tasks of the International Bank in further deepening cooperation among the CEMA countries. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep 81 p 2 AU]

KUHRIG VISITS AUSTRIA -- On 29 September Heinz Kuhrig, GDR minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, arrived for a visit of several days to Austria. He has been invited by Guenter Haiden, Austrian minister of agriculture and forestry, and will visit agricultural research and teaching institutes of the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep 81 p 2 AU]

SUGAR BEET HARVEST REPORT -- So far about 10 percent of the sugar beets have been harvested from the area under cultivation. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1853 GMT 3 Oct 81 DW]

PUJA INTERVIEWED ON RETURN FROM NEW YORK

LD051936 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 Oct (MTI) -- Frigyes Puja, Hungarian foreign minister, returned today from New York, where he had attended the 36th UN General Assembly. After his arrival he was interviewed by an MTI correspondent.

He emphasized inter alia: "Important international issues were put on the agenda of this year's UN General Assembly. The general debate is still under way, but some conclusions can be drawn even now. On of them is that concern about the increasing international tension is growing in .ious countries of the world. Peoples condemn the arms race, and long for the sett.ement of the various problems of disarmament. The new U.S. armament programme does not enjoy popularity at all among the UN member countries. As for Hungary, our party, people and government consistently support disarmament, the proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw [as received] concerning it, and play an active role in discussing the problems of the agenda.

"I felt that most of the foreign ministers contributing to the session left off using the recent Western cold war phraseology. This is more than a pure rhetoric change, as most of the world's countries wish to refrain from intensifying the tense international situation," stressed Frigyes Puja.

"I cannot keep quiet on the differences in stands and I gave a voice to them in my speech too. It does not improve the respect of the United Nations that most of the countries -- especially under the pressure of big powers -- keep putting the so-called Afghan and Kampuchean questions on the agenda. The processes in both countries are irreversible. There is [no] reason for making plans which disregard reality and in spite of leading to a settlement they hinder the internal consolidation in both countries.

"As for the talks with foreign ministers attending the UN General Assembly, they were very useful and fruitful. These talks ranged over not only the subjects discussed at the session, but also other pressing international problems. We exchanged our views on the bilateral relations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the respective countries, as well as those current tasks that contribute to develop the relations between Hungary and the countries concerned.

"I learned with satisfaction that Hungary enjoys an unchanged respect both in the United Nations and the member countries. The unfavourable developments in the international situation oblige Hungary, based on our good reputation and the considerable success of our foreign policy, to pursue a more active international role in the realization of the targets of our nation and the foreign political aims of the socialist community," concluded Frigyes Puja.

SZOT SECRETARY GENERAL GASPAR RETURNS FROM CUBA

LD051902 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 Oct (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and his party, who had paid a visit to Havana at the invitation of the Centre of Cuban Workers, returned to Budapest on Monday.

CZINEGE DISCUSSES DEFENSE WITH AUSTRIA

LD040126 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Army Gen Lajos Czinege held discussions in Austria on relations between the Hungarian and Austrian armies. The minister of defense agreed with Austrian Minister of National Defense Otto Roesch that these useful relations must be further developed. Lajos Czinege was also received by Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger. The Hungarian military delegation has returned home from Austria.

PORTUGUESE CP DELEGATION CONCLUDES VISIT

Kadar Receives Cunhal

LD021202 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Janos Kadar has received the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, which arrived in Budapest yesterday under the leadership of Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal. During the discussion they conferred on the two parties' traditionally good relations and affirmed that they wish to develop cooperation further in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The two parties' leaders exchanged opinions on the situation of international life, of the international communist and worker movement, and adopted a similar stance.

Delegation Departs 4 Oct

LD041254 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] The Portuguese Communist Party delegation, headed by Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal has left Budapest. Cunhal was received by Janos Kadar. Janos Berecz, head of the Central Committee's Department of International Relations, saw the delegation off at Ferihegy Airport.

Communique Issued 5 Oct

LD061120 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 6 Oct 81

["Cunhal's Visit — Communique" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 5 Oct (MTI) -- A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party paid a visit to Hungary between Oct 1 and 4 at the invitation of the HSWP CC. The delegation was led by Secretary-General Alvaro Cunhal.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP CC, had discussions with the delegation. Karoly Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, and Andras Gyenes, secretary of the CC, also met with the guests. Present was at the talks Janos Berecz, member of the CC and head of the CC Foreign Department.

At the discussions the sides informed one another about the position, activity and tasks of their parties. They exchanged views about the relations of their countries and the two parties, about timely questions of the international life, and the international communist and workers movement. The talks took place in a warm comradely atmosphere traditionally characteristic of the relations of the HSWP and the PCP as well as in a spirit of complete understanding.

Janos Kadar expressed the sympathy of Hungarian communists and workers with the self-sacrificing consistent and heavy struggle the Portuguese communists and other democratic progressive patriotic forces fight in defence of the rights and interests of workers, of the progressive democratic system sanctioned also by the country's constitution and of the revolutionary achievements.

The representatives of the two fraternal parties confirmed that the Hungarian and the Portuguese peoples are mutually interested in developing cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Portuguese Republic and reaffirmed the readiness of their parties to continue to promote this cooperation.

The leaders of the HSWP and the PCP valued highly the historic achievements of the world's peoples and workers attained in the struggle for democracy, national independence, socialism and communism but voiced concern about the deterioration of the international situation which has followed in the wake of the machinations of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

They firmly condemned the efforts aimed at accelerating the armament race, at obtaining military supremacy, at increasing international tension and reviving cold war. The discussants pointed out the danger carried by the NATO decision concerning the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in some West European countries and agreed that by having ordered the production of the neutron weapon the American administration bears much responsiblity for the deterioration of the international atmosphere and this also involves a serious new risk for the peace of the world.

The delegations expressed solidarity with the Polish United Workers Party and the Polish working people in their struggle for the defence and consolidation of socialism, in the face of the rising attacks by counterrevolutionary forces which reckon on the active help of imperialism. The protection of socialism in Poland is the affair of not only the Polish people, but also of the workers and peoples of all countries and is a case of protecting peace too.

During the discussions the sides confirmed their determination to continue to actively promote the strengthening of the unity of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of the international communist movement.

The top officials of the two parties ensured of their support the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America fought against imperialism, facism, racial discrimination, colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of their political and economic independence, for their social rise. They expressed solidarity also separately with the peoples of Angola, Namibia and of the countries in the south of Africa which are fighting against the oppression and aggression of the South African racist system.

Janos Kadar and Alvaro Cunhal valued highly the close fraternal ties between the HSWP and the PCP which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The delegation of the PCP invited a delegation of the HSWP Central Committee for a visit to Portugal. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

LAZAR RECEIVES CEMA SECRETARY NIKOLAY FADEYEV

LD021146 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 2 October (MTI) -- Hungarian Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar received Nikolay Fadeyev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in Budapest on Friday.

Present at their discussion on current issues of socialist economic integration and the CEMA was Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai.

KADAR RECEIVES WORLD PEACE COUNCIL OFFICIALS

LD051838 Budapest MTI in English 1711 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 October (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, received Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, in Budapest Monday. The cordial talks touched on actual issues related to the international situation and the world peace movement.

Tbe meeting was attended by Mrs Nandor Sebestyen, president of Hungary's National Peace Council, and Karoly Laudo, Hungarian secretary of the World Peace Council.

ACZEL ADDRESSES TECHNOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

LD032310 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Speech by Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier and member of the MSZMP Politburo, at meeting in Budapest of the General Assembly of the Federation of Technological and Scientific Associations on 3 October, carried in the "168 Hours" magazine program -- recorded]

[Text] The technical intelligentsia is a part of Hungarian intellectual society which carries its growing responsibility, and which knows, on the basis of our international and internal experiences, that if we do not criticize things, then things will criticize us, and then that will mean a very bad situation for all of us. I am in full agreement with the importance and role of the federation of technical and scientific associations [MTESZ], as well as its significance, which has increased in recent years, as Comrade (Vamos) has said.

I would like to say a few words about the way we should be jointly seeking an answer to the challenge which comes to us amid the changing external and internal conditions. Today cold winds are blowing in world politics. There are vexing, epoch-ending crises in the world economy. One can react in many different ways to this. I would like to remind you of something that is now clear to everyone, that in the cold war period, in the 1950's, Rakosi and his men reacted diametrically wrongly, in a way that was diametrically opposed to the way they should have reacted. If there are cold winds in world politics, one can react in a sectarian, dogmatic way that undervalues and excludes people, and one can react as we react: collectively and sharing all our problems to forge a real national unity which is able to face any stormy period there is or may be.

In my opinion, one of the most important issues is that talented young people, who long to be creative, are vegetating in very many places in enterprises, in plants. If a young intellectual is taken on in his first job for the purpose of this or that ratio improvement, and if he does not see the meaning of his work, he will be disabled for life. And as fortunately happens in our society today, when anyone who squanders material means is called to account, I hope very much that soon it will happen frequently that we, the leaders, will be called to account for squandering intellectual resources, no matter where and in what position one is in. I think there are very many of us, or there are many leaders -- I do not wish to practice self-criticism in anybody's place -- who speak very nicely about the need for innovation, but there are fewer who carry into effect the new technical ideas born in their enterprises. At this moment I could give as an example that several hundreds of legal actions are in progress because an enterprise leader does not want, on his own responsibility, to pay for an innovation or invention, but he waits for a court decision to absolve him from responsibility. As far as I know, the MTESZ concerns itself with the question of how small a proportion of the products that win main prizes at the various fairs are put into effect. It is impossible that this should not have as its consequence that in such a case there should also at last be responsibility for action omitted, and not only if someone acts badly.

The next issue about which I would like to say a few words, which Comrade (Mezei) mentioned here, is that the small enterprises and cooperatives will call the technical intelligentsia away from the big enterprises. I consider this to be realistic. But I am convinced that this will be a really big problem only in those enterprises where an absence of thought is coupled with an absence of care. Because even a big enterprise has the means to hand out certain tasks to a team [tarsulas] and to help the best technicians and skilled workers (?to form) associations and small undertakings for a given task. So enterprise leaders must be compelled, and this will compel them, to work better, and to take better care that the small enterprises and small cooperatives, which are otherwise indispensable for the country's development, should not draw away the best technicians, but that new tasks should be placed on their shoulders.

I would like to pay particular compliment to what has come to pass in the situation that has evolved, in the role of the MTESZ, the growth of its significance: The fact that the day before yesterday the government was able to discuss and oblige the ministries to listen to the MTESZ on every issue of technical development, and that everywhere the beginning of this growth can be sensed. I must also say that there is a much greater need for this, that this should grow better and even more dynamically than before.

DAILY TRACES PRC'S 'TURN AGAINST SOCIALISM'

AU021214 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Oct 81 p 2

[Unattributed article: "On the National Holiday of China"]

[Text] One October 1949 was the day of a world historic event: As the result of a national and social liberation struggle and the victory of the revolution supported selflessly, in an internationalist manner, by the Soviet Union, the PRC was proclaimed in Beijing. In the wake of a self-sacrificing struggle over several decades, the most populous country of the world aligned itself with the community of socialist countries.

Despite the backwardness of centuries, the grave heritage of the protracted and destructive war and the machinations of imperialism, People's China covered an epoch-making path in the decade that followed the victory. During these years, fundamental socioeconomic transformations were achieved and socialist conditions of production developed. The Chinese workers class, peasantry and intelligentsia did a tremendous job in that era: Enjoying the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries, they began laying the material-technical foundations of socialism and developing the means of production for the sake of the people's welfare.

Unfortunately, the PRC's development took a different turn from then on: By the end of the fifties, the distortion which had been intensifying in the Chinese leaders' policy had led to grave consequences in the country's domestic and foreign policy alike. The lower middle-class-nationalist trend prevalent in the leadership had broken away and then, in the course of the years, turned more and more openly against the internationalist forces of socialism. Abandoning the most basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has caused a profound crisis and demanded by no means small sacrifices from the Chinese people

The schism in domestic policy has led to grave and alarming developments in Chinese foreign policy as well. As a result of having turned against the forces of socialism and progress, the Chinese leaders are now directing their entire foreign policy against the Soviet Union and the socialist community and allying themselves more and more openly with the most aggressive forces of imperialism. Guided by the great power-hegemonist objectives, the Beijing leadership is not even deterred from armed aggression against Socialist Vietnam. This policy of the Chinese leadership is diametrically contrary to the vital interests of the people, endangers the achievements of the working classes and the independence of the country and causes great damages to the world progressive forces.

Nevertheless, it is an endeavor of the countries of the socialist community, including the government of our country, to normalize their relations with China. They are interested in China developing as a socialist country and acting, consistent with its national interests, on the side of the forces of peace and social progress. That would serve the true prosperity and upswing of the Chinese people.

LOSONCZI DELIVERS SPEECH ON ARMED FORCES DAY

AU011817 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, at a 28 September ceremony staged by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Hungarian Presidential Council and Council of Ministers at the Domed Hall of Parliament on the occasion of Armed Forces Day]

[Text] Dear Comrades, on the day of the armed forces, I cordially greet the armed defenders of our socialist fatherland and working people, the soldiers, Border Guards, policemen and workers militiamen, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers.

Together with our people, we greet those who, faithful to their oath, are fulfilling their duty, trained and ready to make sacrifices, to defend out socialist fatherland and the worker-peasant power.

Armed Forces Day is today one of our traditional national holidays. It combines and symbolizes the heroic traditions and many fine efforts of the battles waged for independence, freedom and the creation of a socialist society. At the same time, it is a good opportunity to provide our youth with eternally splendid examples of the love of the homeland and responsibility felt for the fatherland, instilling in the heart of the younger generations the joint responsibility assumed for the liberty that has been attained.

We are obliged to be prepared and constantly live up to our commitments to the revolutionary heritage of our workers class as well. The day of the victory 133 years ago, a victory achieved by the people mobilized against an enemy that fell on the cradle of the revolution, has rightly become the holiday of our socialist armed forces.

Recalling the heroic past, we remember with justified national pride the glorious deeds of the 1848-49 Territorial Troops, the soldiers of the (1919) Red Army protecting the Hungarian Republic of Councils, the Hungarian internationalists fighting for the survival of the young Soviet State and the heroes acquitting themselves well in the trenches of the Spanish freedom fight and the antifascist fronts. Their example lends us faith, enthusiasm and strength in the accomplishment of our historical tasks shaping the present and the future.

When we pay respectful and reverential tribute to the memory of our heroic predecessors, we can reflect with gratifying pride over the fact that the best sons of our workers class have been, always and everywhere, in the vanguard of human progress. They knew what they had to do: When they were called upon to do so, they worked and, when the cause required it, they also undertook to struggle for glorious objectives, many of them sacrificing their lives for the welfare of our people and other peoples.

On this beautiful holiday, I am proud to be able to say also that the members of our armed forces and organizations are worthy of the rich heritage. They not only faithfully cherish, but, in the spirit of socialist patriotism, also further enrich and deepen the rich heritage and martial virtues of the revolutionary struggles. They are fully aware of the fact that only such human values enable them to comply with the absolute trust and the honorable tasks entrusted to them.

Esteemed comrades, during the years of socialist construction, historic achievements determining the fate of all of us have taken place in our country. The last quarter of a century has been particularly rich in successes. We are pursuing a proven and correct path. Our people are following with unremitting confidence the party's proven and approved policy and continuing to advance on the path set at the 12th congress to attain additional results in building an advanced socialist society.

We can say with gratification that our people are living in an atmosphere of confidence and are lined up in firm unity behind our party. This unity has created and also ensures the firm political and moral basis of our armed forces. Only on this basis can they fulfill their noble vocation and protect our people's peaceful and creative everyday life.

I can state that our armed forces are equal to the tasks imposed on them by their vocation. The combat readiness and armament of our people's army is consistent with the standards of the era. The Border Guard, police and workers militia are fulfilling their duties in a discipline and organized manner.

The armed forces are an integral part of our society. They are always there when danger threatens the life and goods of the working people. They vigilantly guard over our borders, the order of society and public safety and assume a share of constructive work as well.

For all this, the entire complement of the armed forces justly enjoys our working people's respect, esteem and affection.

Dear comrades, tension has increased in the world. The cause of peace is in danger. Repeated attempts by the imperialists to make the detente process bog down, force through a wave of armament more vigorous than any before and steps to expand NATO signify that we must make additional efforts toward a greater security of our fatherland and all socialist countries. Therefore, the tasks of those fulfilling their armed service will not be smaller in the future, either.

Peace has not been a gift or an accidental matter up to now either. We are indebted to the struggle of the Soviet Union, the socialist peoples and the forces struggling for progress for over 3 1/2 decades for the fact that we can live in peace today. We know at the cost of what great efforts and sacrifices we have created the prerequisites for that.

That is precisely the reason for the fact that, neither today or in the future, can we allow the adventures of international monopoly capital to plunge our achievements, the peoples' peace and the future of mankind into danger by a new imposition of the arms race and by changing the military balance of power.

In this matter, the policy of our party and government is very unequivocal indeed. We want peace and a world free of mass destruction weapons. That is why we strive to strengthen confidence, expand detente processes, reduce armaments and promote disarmament. That is why we continue to strengthen our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, and our collaboration with all anti-imperialist forces and the international revolutionary workers movement. That is why we continue to strengthen our alliance system and assume an active role in the Warsaw Pact.

It is a manifestation of confidence in the armed forces and an act of moral support that, on this day, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic appoints new generals and decorates workers militiamen and noncommissioned officers and officers of the armed forces and organizations who have been accomplishing the tasks assigned to them in an exemplary manner.

We are convinced that in the future as well all members of the armed forces will fulfill their duty to the fatherland with the same diligence and sense of responsibility.

In the spirit of these thoughts, we cordially congratulate all promoted and decorated comrades on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

It is my sincere wish to all of you -- and, in you, to all members of the armed forces and organizations -- that you may be able to fulfill your responsible vocation in good health and strength and attain further outstanding results in the defense of the socialist fatherland and the common cause of the working people.

REPORTAGE ON 5 OCT SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SESSION

Union Program Discussed

LD051158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Today, on the tenth day of the second round of the national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity, discussion on the union's program has resumed. The conclusions and demands will be used to work out a congress resolution on Solidarity's stance as regards most of the important political, social and economic problems of the country. It is expected that the results of the election to the union's top-ranking bodies, the National Consultative Commission and the Auditing Commission, will also be published today.

Some KKP Members Elected

LD051302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] The tenth day of the session of the second round of the national congress of NSZZ Solidarity delegates in Gdansk has already begun. The Returns Committee reported to the delegates on the results of the voting to the Auditing Commission and to the National Consultative Commission [KKP].

Following the second round of voting for the Auditing Commission two places remain unfilled. In connection with this it is anticipated that another round of elections will be organized.

The results of the first round of elections to the KKP are surprising. As a result of the first vote the majority of the small regions have brought in their candidates to the National Commission. However, the large regions, among others those of Gdansk, Mazowsze, Lower Silesia, and Silesia-Debrowo, have not yet succeeded in filling all places. (?Thus) they will also have to carry out a further round of elections. In the first round mandates were gained in Andrzej Gwiazda from the Gdansk region, Karol Modzelewski from Lower Silesia, Grzegorz Palka from the Lodz region, and Andrzej Rozplochowski from the Silesia-Dabrowo region. The chairmen of the individual regions automatically enter the KKP.

The programmatic discussion is anticipated to be extensive.

Resolutions Adopted

LD051340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Excerpt] In the course of the morning session at the Solidarity congress in Gdansk, several documents have been adopted. It was decided to send a letter to the Council of State drawing attention to the cases of dismissal of employees of the Prosecutor's Office who belong to Solidarity. Also, a resolution was adopted making it incumbent on the newly-elected National Consultative Commission [KKP] to take steps aimed at the registration of NSZZ Solidarity of Drivers in Private Transportation. Another resolution made it incumbent on the KKP to draw up a procedure of conduct to ensure the enforcement of payment of the financial claims of Poles who were abroad during World War II. In a resolution on national education, the congress stressed that the education of the young generation is a matter for the whole of society. The education system should further the correct mental and physical development of children. The resolution stresses that Solidarity will support all initiatives for society to extend its supervision to the education of the young generation, and that it will take action aimed at restoring the prestige of the teaching profession.

An extensive part of the debate was taken up by discussion of the financial activity of the union.

5 Oct Session Ends

LD052322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Yesterday evening [5 October] the question of the cigarettes price increase again came to the fore at the Solidarity congress. During the discussion on this matter, several draft resolutions were submitted to define the stance of the union but none of them gained approval.

The debates on the tenth day of the second round of the Solidarity congress came to an end at 2230.

TU CONGRESS ELECTIONS CONTINUE AT 6 OCT SESSION

LD061028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] The 11th day of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk has begun. Results of yesterday's second round of elections for National Commission members and of the third round of elections for Auditing Commission members were announced at the beginning. The elections have still brought no final results. One of the two vacant places on the Auditing Commission has been filled. As a result of the National Commission elections, a further 21 places have been filled. Five remain to be filled: three in the Mazowsze region and one each in the Gdansk and Lower Silesian regions.

After the election results were announced the next round of voting began. The agenda provides for program discussion later on.

JOURNALISTS DISCUSS KRZAK, KRASINSKI SPEECHES

LD052040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Interview by Gdansk correspondent Marek Szelewicki with TRYBUNA LUDU editor Jerzy Bielecki and GLOS WYBRZEZA editor Edmund Pietrzak]

[Text] [Szelewicki] Good evening. For the third time we welcome journalists accredited to the first national congress of NSZZ Solidarity at the Oliwia Hall. We have in our studio editor Jerzy Bielecki from TRYBUNA LUDU and editor Edmund Pietrzak from GLOS WYBRZEZA.

Today, I would like to discuss the issue which caused so much emotion. Perhaps a short roundup to begin with: On Saturday, delegates presented a motion on the congress attitude to the price raises. Yesterday at 1215, newly elected chairman of the union Lech Walesa sent a letter to Premier Jaruzelski; hence Minister of Finance Marian Krzak, and Zdzislaw Krasinski, arrived in Gdansk. It seems to me that real emotions began to rise when the two men arrived in the congress hall.

[Pietrzak] Minister Krzak began his speech at 2258 and ended 18 minutes later; Minister Krasinski spoke for 8 minutes. In my opinion, Minister Krzak's speech was very weak and unprepared. Minister Krasinski said very little; he only presented his intentions. Minister Krzak presented very narrow economic points of view. Those assembled received both speeches, and particularly the speech by Minister Krzak, with great disapproval. And real emotions began to rise later when questions were asked.

[Szelewicki] Perhaps I should go back to the question. We have learned from editor Pietrzak of his assessment of the speech, but we would like to know what Minister Krzak and Zdzislaw Krasinski spoke about.

[Bielecki] I agree with editor Pietrzak that the speech by Minister Krzak was, to some extent, esoteric. It was a speech by an economist, an expert in his subject, who endeavored to justify the price increases by economic reasons.

But on the other hand, I must say that Solidarity's demands, which were made on Saturday and on Sunday in the hall -- including those of Jan Rulewski, chairman of the Commission for Food -- were such that in the case of any increases, the trade union should be informed about the allocation of revenue thus obtained. Minister Krzak said it will amount to about Z38 billion, that about Z12 billion will be swallowed up by increased expenditure linked with increased prices for tobacco planters, and by other production costs, and about Z25 billion will be earmarked for health services and social projects. Thus, to some extent, he explained the intentions of the increase.

[Pietrzak] It seems to me that there was no need to explain these matters to delegates because, in general, they realize the position very well. I would agree with you that Minister Krzak presented a narrow economic point of view, while something totally different should have been presented. But Minister Krzak was not authorized to do that. It seems to me that yesterday's dramatic -- or as some called it, circus -- evening, focused on all the most important problems which we have to resolve, and for which we are still waiting for the solution. I would say that three issues are at stake. First, many delegates said that it is simply a price increase and nothing more, that it is not accompanied by steps toward economic reform. Thus, it is understood that the reform will support the rise in the cost of living. Second, last night's issue clearly demonstrated the distrust and tension now prevailing in relations between Solidarity and the authorities. And third, what we also must remember is that there was a division between delegates in the hall, between those who see the price increase and nothing else, and experts and some other delegates who are aware that the increase is necessary.

[Bielecki] Yes, I do not wish to return to the subject of lack of confidence in the authorities because we have covered that ground on several occasions. But it seems to me that if I were to assess, as editor Pietrzak has done, what should have been said in the congress hall and what should not have been said then, in my opinion, it should have been said, first of all, very clearly that there did exist certain well defined accords with representatives of Solidarity, including, indeed those with the plenipotentiary Mr Bogdan Lis, which to some extent accepted the increases in the price of commodities -- and in this case, cigarettes. This was referred to in the statement of a special commission, read at the congress by Mr Aleksander Malachowski, and we talked about it yesterday. These matters did not surface during the night's debate. Perhaps this is a pity.

[Pietrzak] But, in my opinion, the statement read by Mr Aleksander Malachowski suggested rather that what KKP [National Consultative Commission] has so far stated to the authorities on the subject of its readiness or unreadiness to accept the increases has no binding character. At least, I have interpreted it this way. In any case, the resolution which Mr Malachowski read stated that the union had not taken any official stand with regard to the issues that we are talking about.

[Szelewicki] Gentlemen, I have one question to put to you. In your opinion, has the congress been prepared for this speech by Minister Krzak, and on the other hand was Minister Krzak equally prepared for the situation in which he would have to justify the need for the increases before such an assembly as the Solidarity congress?

[Bielecki] Personally, I believe that the ministers were prepared for providing such a justification of the increases which follow from the specific economic conditions of our country, and in this respect, I have no reservations at all.

[Pietrzak] It seems to me that from the economic point of view both ministers were no doubt prepared for this. However, from the point of view of the whole issue -- of which the increases constitute only one element -- they were absolutely not prepared. From what I have sensed, if one wanted to have serious discussion in the congress hall on the issues involved, there should have been at least a deputy premier, or perhaps even a member of the Politburo. At times, I had the impression -- no, the certainty -- that it was not a discussion on the price of cigarettes but a debate on something much more important.

[Szelewicki] I think that we shall return to the subject of the debate on price increases later, because this issue has not yet been wound up by the congress. We are still awaiting the adoption of a resolution on this matter. We shall find time in one of our future broadcasts for this purpose.

Yet, seeing that the time allotted to us is drawing to its end, I have one more question to put to you. How do you, gentlemen, assess the letter from Secretary General of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council Sandor Gaspar to the Solidarity congress, received by Lech Walesa?

[Bielecki] Personally, I think that it was a letter which indicated specific conditions for future relations, or perhaps for the prospective relations between the Hungarian trade unions and the Solidarity trade union. At the same time, the letter drew attention to the fact that the so-called message to the working people of Eastern Europe, which was interpreted in Hungary as a form of didactic approach, has not contributed to the strengthening of these traditional, fraternal relations between the trade unionists of the two countries.

[Pietrzak] For me personally, the most important thing was the fact that this letter had come at all. It signifies (?de jure) the end of NSZZ Solidarity's isolation among the socialist countries. The very fact that the letter was received is, in my opinion, of extreme importance. As regards the interpretation, it is a fact that the issue which editor Bielecki has raised occupied the largest amount of space in the letter.

[Szelewicki] And the last question: Which elements in today's debate at the congress would you like to bring to the fore? Which of them are the most striking?

[Bielecki] This may surprise the listeners, but for me of immense interest today was the stormy discussion on the subject of agreeing on the union's financial principles. The discussion also concerned the remuneration of the union officials, but in the debate, in which more than 20 people took part, there appeared problems of a purely trade unionist character, very human, very mundane, [words indistinct] and this is very important.

[Pietrzak] Undoubtedly it was so. But I would like to stress that summing up the results of the first round of the elections to the KKP, 43 places out of 69 of the full membership of the KKP have now been filled. The elections brought a number of surprises. One characteristic feature of a general nature -- as regards this first round -- is to be found in the fact that if Solidarity were to be divided into moderates and radicals, the result of the elections would suggest something halfway between the moderates and the radicals. It seems to me this is a very significant point.

[Szelewicki] It seems that we shall return to the matter of elections to the KKP when the second, and perhaps third, round of the voting is completed. I am already inviting you to take part in discussion. Thank you very much, gentlemen. And thank you listeners, for your attention.

LE MONDE REPORTS GASPAR-WALESA EXCHANGE

PM060807 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Oct 81 p 3

[Unattributed report on letter sent to Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, on 23 September: "Mr Gaspar's Letter"]

[Text] In his letter to Mr Walesa, Mr Sandor Gaspar writes in particular:

"Our public opinion and the Hungarian trade unions were awaiting your congress with special interest. I must say in all sincerity that we have been disappointed. The Hungarian trade unionists were outraged and surprised by your congress' appeal 'to all workers in Eastern Europe' which calls for 'the creation of free trade unions' and for the Polish example to be imitated. We consider this appeal to be interference in our country's internal affairs and we reject it. It makes it impossible for us to attend the second part of your congress.

"Our political principles mean, and hence we consider it natural -- and this is also strengthened by the international workers' movement's practice -- that the working class in each country and its trade union movement should act according to the country's historical traditions and individual characteristics.

"We regard this as natural and we do not intend to allow anybody to give us advice about the way in which our trade unions should work and in what framework they should do so....

"As a new type of trade union movement, we profit from all valid experiences, because we are responsible both to the Hungarian working class and to the international workers' movement. The Hungarian trade unions, therefore, have systematic and fruitful relations with all European trade unions and many others. We draw the appropriate benefit from this for the workers' real interests and for the improvement of our activity. But what you propose is unacceptable. We will not conceal the fact that we are suprised by the boldness and assurance with which -- after 1 year's existence -- you give advice to the workers of the socialist countries....

"I must therefore say that an antisocialist and anti-Soviet platform has been put forward at your congress whether you like it or not. We are not partners for such a program. It has been proven by history that anybody who takes his mission seriously cannot represent the working class on an antisocialist platoform because that path leads nowhere.

"Dear Mr Walesa, we are prepared to debate and discuss the role and mission of trade unions at any time in the spirit of international duties and the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship...."

Mr Walesa's Reply

In his reply Mr Walesa deplores Mr Gaspar's absence and writes in particular: "I think that if you were to attend our congress you would be convinced that the reports about our trade union published by the media in some countries do not correspond to the truth. You would be convinced above all that Solidarity is a workers' trade union born from a revolt against injustice, against violations of the law and against lies. You would see that our trade union serves the workers' interests and that that is the principle of all our activities for the republic's renewal.

"We are aware that our road is difficult and that there may be several misunderstandings. We think that these must be discussed patiently. Our trade union has gone into battle for the workers' cause, for their influence on the country's life and to ensure that nobody decides in our place.

"We do not disregard or threaten anybody. We have no tanks or missiles. The principle guiding us is the idea of fraternity among all the workers in Poland and throughout the world."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY COMMENTS ON PRICE RISES

LD060922 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 6 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- The author of a commentary in ZYCIE WARSZAWY said that he felt "somewhat uncomfortable when he recalled that it was not so long ago that many members and leaders of his union Solidarnosc declared that they will even eat grass just to get out of the crisis and to make life in Poland easier. Now, a row is kicked up whenever a price rise is announced."

"After all, all of us seem to deeply believe that such price rises must take place and that they are our only chance. After all, it is entirely obvious to everybody who thinks that our standard of living will be lower for the time that will be [words indistinct] long for our patience to endure. All this will be necessary for getting out of the quagmire at last."

"If we, God forbid, were to strike over the increase in the cigarette price under a decision of our union, those who treated us so kindly by rescheduling the payment of credits would at first collapse with laughter and then get mad, and they would no longer consider us homo sapiens", the author said, observing that until last weekend a packet of cigarettes cost less than one egg at the low official price -- a rare case among civilized nations indeed.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI COMMENTS ON RULEWSKI PROGRAM

LD051816 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Oct 81

["Adventurism and Demagogy" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Oct (PAP) -- Jan Rulewski was one of four candidates for the post of chairman of Solidarity's National Consultative Commission. The fact that his candidacy was proposed must be explained, above all, by efforts made by Rulewski himself. At the congress in Gdansk, he used every opportunity to advertize himself. His verbose and original speeches were finally branded "political chatter," writes ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

There were anti-Soviet elements contained in Rulewski's program speech. He is more interested in elections to the Sejm, that is to say in his own career, than in social questions pertaining to the working people. [sentence as received] As for foreign policy, he is interested in controlling the state budget, including military spending.

Rulewski's program contains a demand that the property of enterprises should be distributed among their labor collectives. Questions put forward by Rulewski as being the most important in the Polish situation (they have become the axis of his "electoral program") unfortunately prove his nonentity as a politician, though he would like to be regarded as a politician. [passage indistinct]

SOLIDARITY STAND ON SELF-MANAGEMENT LAW VIEWED

LD050954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 5 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Among the newspaper reports from the Solidarity congress today there are, among other things, items about: the letter from the Hungarian trade unionists and the reply by Lech Walesa, divided opinions on the matter of reform, the electoral campaign to the National Commission, and about Solidarity's attitude to the Sejm laws on state enterprises and self-management in enterprises. This latter issue is commented on by Jerzy Bielecki, the TRYBUNA LUDU representative, and I quote:

The resolution of the Solidarity congress in the matter of the laws on the self-management of the workforce in enterprises negates the grounds on which are based the laws adopted unanimously by our parliament. It can be interpreted as a one-sided termination of the social accords, and a rejection of the principles of compromise which are so indispensable for any constructive action. It is perverse to state, writes Jerzy Bielecki, that the congress, directing itself in accord with the spirit of agreement, does not reject these laws in their totality.

Immediately after (?this), the TRYBUNA LUDU journalist continues, it was stated that a decision is being made to submit to a referendum at the workplaces the regulations of those laws which flagrantly diverge from the union's position and threaten the self-management of enterprises and thereby strike against the economic reform. Then there follows a delineation of five points in a resolution which protests against the Sejm law. Among other things, it questions the point earlier agreed on the Sejm commissions on the appointment of a director establishing in advance that the founding organ [organ zalozycielski] can have powers only in arms enterprises subject to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of National Defence, or in enterprises which function at penal institutions.

I will further quote from the commentary by Jerzy Bielecki. He writes: Mr Palka and his group know the results of the referendum on this matter in advance, for the resolution states that the National Commission will put before the Sejm the results of the referendum together with a motion for the carrying-out of the appropriate amendments of the law. The final sentence in the resolution presents a clear call not to respect the legal order which is binding in the country. It says: The congress calls on all workforces to create authentic worker's self-management on principles in agreement with the stance of the union. In practice such a call amounts to putting those who voted for this resolution above the Sejm and the law. To put it concisely, this means: Let them set up their laws;it's up to us to break them. It is not only the law that is broken here, Jerzy Bielecki writes further, positions are being eliminated and altered. Otherwise, how is one to view the dogged questions during the presentation of candidates who were, or are, members of the party about whether and when they left the party and whether they support the program of Solidarity or that of the party?

Congress Resolution Examined

LD060932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 6 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] In an article in TRYBUNA LUDU entitled "Card in a Political Game," Andrzej Leszczynski assesses the resolution adopted by the Solidarity congress, which provides for a referendum on the subject of appointing and dismissing directors and also on other issues pertaining to the functioning of workers' self-management.

The author states that this resolution is an attempt again to fan up a dispute of some months' standing -- a dispute which, as one could have supposed, was legitimately settled in the statutes passed a week ago by the Sejm on state enterprises and on workers' self-management. Andrzej Leszczynski poses the following question in the article: Is the undermining of principles that are enshrined in a statute and that have the authority of the Sejm behind them in keeping with a sense of law and order? Can one do this while ignoring important social arguments that were decisive in the shaping of the statutes? Finally, can one fail to take into account all the practical and theoretical achievements, a great contribution to which was also made by Solidarity experts and activists? One is prompted to suspect, Andrzej Leszczynski continues, that the Solidarity congress resolution is calculated not to pull the country out of a difficult crisis but to demonstratively negate -- a tack prompted by the union's extreme wing -- the party's program and undertakings of the government. One can also suppose that in completely undermining confidence in state organs, including the Sejm, such behavior will lead to the assumption of control of production processes and then to the gradual dismantling of the socialist structure on which our economy is based. Let us be frank, the author says in conclusion; this resolution is a card in a political game.

Further Media Comments

LD051226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 5 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The subject of the Solidarity congress is dealt with by TRYBUNA LUDU journalist Anna Pawlowska, in an article entitled "With Whom, Against What, Whither?" She states: Both the decision on the matter of the Sejm laws and the course taken by the discussion so far on the programmatic assumptions prove that the interval between the first and second rounds of the Solidarity congress was not used by the union leadership and the delegates to draw conclusions from the reception of the first round by those forces that are called by Solidarity partners in dialogue.

It is hard to discern the least shadow of a reference to the government statements issued since the middle of September, to the stance of the Sejm, or to the television speech by Stefan Olszowski. That cannot but awaken deep unease, even honest concern for the possibility of continuing the line of accord and dialogue. And one more fragment from this article. In her summing up, Anna Pawlowska writes: The most adventurist leading circles of Solidarity wish, and know how, to interpret the justified concern awakened by the political processes. They are making themselves visible in Solidarity in only one way: as a fear which makes it possible to extort all possible and impossible concessions, above all, by way of instilling fear, not only of the state apparatus, but also of all forces, orientations and groupings which stand for true socialism. These arrogant delusions have not been dispelled, either by the statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee or by the officially proclaimed government stand of mid-September.

The adherents of these delusions, calling out loudly and continuously in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall that they will not let themselves be frightened, continue to believe that they will succeed in frightening all others -- the public, the government, the Sejm, the party, and the political parties. It seems very important that no one who respects the line of accord most deeply, who does not finally withdraw the extended hand, confirms these illusions by word or deed. Concern for Poland, for the nation, for the trade unions -- including Solidarity -- is not, and under the threat of catastrophe cannot be, terror of helplessness or surrender.

Let us stay with the theme of the Solidarity congress. SZTANDAR MLODYCH returns to the election of Lech Walesa as chairman of Solidarity. In reply to a journalist's question on how Lech Walesa envisages the next 2 years, the Solidarity chairman replied: There are certain things which it is most important to build. I see a construction of three elements, elements independent of each other, which ought to struggle against each other, but which must not overcome each other, for if one of them drops out, then democracy is weakened. These elements are the party and state apparatus, the trade unions, and self-management at various levels. It is a matter, Lech Walesa said, of their meeting every now and then, of their fighting for their interests for the benefit of the social good. Meanwhile I further quote from the statement by Lech Walesa: I hear -- Let us take the Sejm! Let us take the government! in this congress hall. Well, and what then? Obviously, for 10 years we will be first-rate, conscientious, noble. In 10 years they will (?throw us out) for we will create a totalitarian system which might even be 10 times worse than the present one, Lech Walesa replied to a question by a journalist.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE carries extensive excerpts of an interview with Karol Modzelewski, Solidarity delegate from the Lower Silesia region, granted to editor Andrzej Trzycinski of the weekly WROCLAWSKI TYGODNIK KATOLICKI. The full text of the interview will be published in the next issue of the (?weekly).

Karol Modzelewski said, among other things: It must not happen that Solidarity becomes the ruling force since it would lose its identity -- the loss of identity by Solidarity is a greater danger than the loss of identity by the government. Society would have no institutional guarantee and thus no hope for a peaceful solution of the situation which we are expecting.

Another excerpt from this interview deals with Solidarity's interest in the Sejm. Karol Modzelewski says that such interest is great, not only because of democratic ideals but also for practical reasons. Therefore, Solidarity, as a social movement, faces the fact that our parliamentary forum passes various bills directly concerning the union. In connection with this, various possibilities are being sought. One's voice in and influence on what will be passed is miscalculated. It is not a matter here of the influence of Solidarity as an institution, but of the influence of the electors who are members of the union. I think that what occurred during the last Sejm session will strengthen aspirations toward making contacts with the present Sejm, Karol Modzelewski said in the interview.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON 27, 28 SEP SOLIDARITY SESSIONS

AU051425 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary on the 28 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Text] The morning session of the Solidarity congress on 28 September was taken up by the Solidarity election rules. But this issue was not a subject of special comments in the wings of the congress hall. As soon as Professor Lipinski ended his speech, the leading press agencies began their work, which was no wonder, because it is seldom that the press, especially the Western press, can hear in a socialist country statements made at the congress of a 10-million strong legal trade union to the effect that the system of the country in question is antisocialist....

One would like to regard that speech as just a sorry and tasteless interlude and nothing but an interlude. This is, of course, a matter for the delegates.

It is worth returning to the evening debates on Sunday on the Sejm laws and the legality of the KKP [National Consultative Commission] Presidium's decisions. The debate gave the impression that various resolute regional views were formed on the issue. Bydgoszcz and Lodz delegates' statements were unambiguously radical, rejected the KKP Presidium's right to make decisions and determinedly protested the Sejm laws. Messrs Rulewski, Rusek, Jarmuszkiewicz, Kowalski, Helak and Kropiwnicki had no doubts that Solidarity had suffered a defeat at the main front of battle. The only tactic they profess is the method of accomplished facts and of continuous, relentless struggle. Self-management and economic reform as well as territorial self-government, which, as some say, is still an unwritten page -- continue to be the battlefields of that struggle.

The statements by the "radicals," who were clearly joined by Patrycjusz Kosmowski from Sub-Beskids, were dominated by criticism of the conduct of Solidarity experts. But from what position was that criticism made? Its spearhead was directed against the thesis promoted by some experts that it is necessary to "make small steps" and acquire power "piece by piece." To the radicals that was simply capitulation.

At this point we have to ask: Does that mean that constructive solutions cannot be proposed in the Oliwia Hall and that the congress lacks those who are in favor of a compromise and who are aware of the country's crisis situation and of Solidarity's importance in creating a social climate and the feasible conditions for overcoming the crisis?

I am deeply convinced that there are such forces. Voices of commonsense have been heard during the congress. It is true that the pseudoradicals have been more noisy and demagogical, but it is also true that, for example, such delegates as Leopold Zgoda, Mieczyslaw Gil and Edward Nowak from Malopolska [Little Poland) as well as Adam Turkiewicz from the Silesia-Dabrowa region, presented in a concrete and well-argued manner the position of trade unionists and not of politicians on the question at issue. I have not always agreed with what they said, but, to me, their speeches were made in the spirit of accord, dialogue and profound concern for our people's destiny. Their speeches were not exceptions. I wrote yesterday that the speeches made by the delegates from Lower Silesia and by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa were in a similar vein.

Representatives of some large enterprises -- of the so-called network -- also spoke realistically.

The congress is continuing. Not much has been decided up to now. The delegates are facing many days of debates.

WIEJACZ,SOVIET COUNTERPART HOLD TALKS IN MOSCOW

LD051744 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Jozef Wiejacz, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, is in Moscow. He has met with the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilichev.

The subject of the talks were some issues of East-West relations. The discussion passed in a friendly atmosphere.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES STOPH LETTER ON SUPPLIES

LD031904 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the GDR Ambassador in Poland, Dr Horst Neubauer. During the meeting, Horst Neubauer handed Premier Jaruzelski a letter from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, regarding the supply of good from the GDR to Poland in the current year. It was decided that talks will be held on this issue.

OBODOWSKI CHAIRS ANTICRISIS STAFF MEETING

LD052034 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] In Warsaw, the Operational Anticrisis Staff held discussions, chaired by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski.

The staff discussed further decisions which should be taken in order to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of the basic aspects of socioeconomic life in the coming winter.

Crisis phenomana constitute the greatest threat for persons and families which are the weakest economically; thus all decisions will protect, above all, this part of the community.

The first steps have been taken. From 1 November the lowest pensions and annuities have been raised; compensation has been increased to cover the rise in the price of bakery products and flour products; and more favorable conditions for retirement have been created for disabled people.

For the increase in pensions and annuities alone, about Z32 billion will be spent this year. Having in mind the improvement of living conditions and the supply situation for families, it has been decided to introduce special ration allocations for young children, and a decision guaranteeing deliveries of the most indispensable medicines.

Despite growing supply difficulties, the staff has rejected the proposal concerning the shelving of the organization of winter rest for children and workforces. For the coordination of action a special working group was set up.

The efforts of the government must be, in this respect, supported by the action of employees' services, sociopolitical and union organizations in the works enterprises. At present this should concern, in particular, supplies for the winter.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI INTERVIEW WITH RAKOWSKI

AU021615 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Sep 81 pp 3-4

[Zdzislaw Zaryczny interview with Deputy Premier Dr Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Let Us Spell It All Out"--place and date not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Premier, how do you evaluate the year since the August workers' protest? What have we won and lost? What have we learned about ourselves as a nation and as a state?

[Answer] I hardly marked the anniversary of the coastal strikes in elated spirits--I will say why later--reflecting upon the path covered and about the things that have occurred and changed in Poland in that time. I represent--certainly, not for the first time--the thesis, which is not original, although some people tend to forget it, that Poland today is not the same country that existed before August 1980. Many of the things that have taken place in the sphere of those changes should be regarded as extremely positive.

What I mean is primarily the democratization of the political system, the fact that, after the failure of the concept formulated by Gierek and the people of his closest circle of the country's leadership. the party was able not only to carry out extensive personnel changes, but also worked out a political concept of how to settle the existing and frequently pressing conflicts. That has been reflected in the famous phrase: the line of understanding. Last but not least, the party has overcome its internal dissensions and troubles, and reached the ninth extraordinary congress, which outlined an interesting and dynamic program. The main thing now is to implement that program, and this requires courage, intelligence and persistence. Another positive phenomenon was certainly the formation of trade unions that saw their place in the social system quite differently from the so-called old unions.

While speaking about real and lasting achievements--obviously, I will not expand on the subject, because it is too extensive--one should bring to the fore the fact that Poland embarked--and not only embarked--on the path of modernizing and reforming its social and economic structures, as well as the structure of power. The next achievement linked with the former is the rationalization of very many political practices, the critical assessment of the ways and methods of governing, as well as the significant expansion of the limits of freedom of speech. Precisely owing to the greater freedom of speech or--one can say--owing to the democratization of social conditions, we have learned a great deal about our history, particularly about our last decades. I regard this as a great achievement, too.

Man in People's Poland, his place and his experiences were treated last year in a significantly broader and deeper way. For example, the press has presented an enormous amount of material for historical reflections, for deliberations about the world in which we live, about what values are to be cherished, what are our defects, and so forth.

It is no accident that I speak about our defects, because we have a great deal of arrogance. For example, many of my compatriots think that what has happened in our country since August has been so wonderful that the whole world should admire us and regard us as having reached the summits of human thought and deed.

However, what is decisive in assessing a country? To a large extent, it is the country's ability to produce the goods the people need to live. But in the meantime, it is painful to admit, we are being subsidized by almost the entire world, excluding the developing countries; we are being kept by both the East and the West. Some people say that we are layabouts, and somehow it does not bother anybody, particularly not those who organize the strikes, various manifestations, and so forth. Unfortunately, there are indeed such opinions about the today's Poland. And frequently people who welcomed the changes in our country are beginning to wonder if they were not mistaken, because the great changes have resulted in a 15-percent decline in the national income, in coupons for food and other products, brawls and uproars, increased criminality rates, and so forth.

Our arrogance is therefore all the more remarkable. It is not so bad that such opinions exist, but what do we have to say about this fact? The government invariably repeats that the only solution is to work, to work better and in a way more sensibly organized than ever. One can invent even the best system of governing and managing, but if there are constant strikes and demonstrations, if people do not work, that system is useless. It will not provide more food and other goods. Thus I think that today we must be more modest and must humbly look toward all friends, toward Europe, we must not give ourselves airs or puff ourselves up because there are no great reasons for that.

On the whole, it is an interesting phenomenon that probably should be carefully examined by scientists. How did it happen that our society has made great changes, has created a completely new situation, yet is unable to order itself? Stop. At this point we make a stop. Now we will make use of what has been won, and then we will continue and will have a look around to see what else is to be changed. Let us provide facts! Let us supply arguments to all those who advocate renewal! Let us show the world that out of the ruins of everything we found to be disadvantageous for the development of our people and of our system we are creating perhaps not a new and wonderful world, but simply a life worthy of being admired by others.

But no, someone criticized me somewhere for having said at the ninth congress that the Pole would not strike very long, if he bought himself too tight shoes, which are in short supply anyhow. But it is so! Any reason is sufficient to threaten a strike or to organize it without any warning. In this respect, we are a country unique in the world.

Certainly, one can say that it is a compensation for the times when strikes were impossible. Well, but that is only a part of the answer. Unfortunately, the other part seems to be that very frequently anarchical trends and an attitude that constitutes a part of our national character, excessive individualism, gain the upper hand. Sometimes I feel terrified by the enormity of all those goals we should attain as a nation.

[Question] However, this will be impossible as long as the nation is divided. Unfortunately, it should be admitted that the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements, termed the social accord, have not united the nation as strongly as they could. The "we" and "they" division still persists. This division has actually been constant for the whole of the past year.

[Answer] It has been constant, but, in my opinion, no longer static. That means that substantial changes are taking place in this respect. I can also see those changes in the growing criticism with regard to the activities of some of the extremist Solidarity leaders. For me this criticism is evidence of the less rigid "we" and "they" division. Obviously, those who criticize Solidarity's leaders are still frequently, I would say, not with us, but neither are they with them anyhow, and that means that sound commonsense is prevailing and the attitude of moderation is gaining ground.

But your question has another dimension. First of all, a large part of Polish society had quite certainly objective reasons for losing confidence in the policy pursued by the party and the government. Naturally enough, if it had not lost that confidence, the present situation would have been quite different. Undoubtedly, that lack of confidence persisted and still persists, although on a smaller scale than a year ago. Various errors -- sometimes our inability to see what is most important, or inefficient and contradictory activities -- deepen that state in some cases. But that is only part of the truth.

I consider that in Poland we are dealing with a more or less organized, intentional action aimed at fomenting a lack of confidence in the authorities. For example. when I hear Solidarity members saying: "We do not trust this government nor will we trust the next few ones either," it is difficult to see whay they mean by "few"; this could mean another 15 or 20 years. Then I ask myself if that lack of confidence is only a result of errors, or is it deliberately fomented.

My own experience in the 6 months of my work in the government shows that it is frequently impossible to win even a modicum of confidence in one's partner, not because I do not have the facts that should bolster such confidence, but for the simple reason that things have been programmed to the effect that the government must be bad and cannot act well.

For example, how much turmoil was there around the alleged food hoarding. It is known that no food had been hidden away. Yet it took at least 3 months to convince the public -- but not all of it -- that there were no storehouses packed with food. Moreover, how can one figure by himself how a state functions without any stocks of food which evidently must be systematically supplied to the market? Yet someone casts a glance, for example, at some 5,000 cans of preserves and says: Look here, they are hiding things intentionally!

We also bear a part of the blame, because we have insufficiently familiarized the public with the secrets of governing, insufficiently shown how difficult it is to run the country in the crisis situation. Maybe, this is so, although, encumbered by daily affairs, we do not always have sufficient time to take note of insignificant items in the newspaper.

Something interesting happened with that "we" and "they" division. Well, the government is allegedly "guilty" of everything. Please see my point correctly. Here I do not defend either myself or my chief, General Jaruzelski. But how? Must a minister or the premier take the blame for every, even the slightest, offense committed by someone somewhere in the country? Or here you are: There was such a tremendous clamor that Poland must be decentralized. Even now Solidarity says that Poland must be turned into a state based on self-government. We are all for that. It is not a new idea in the party, and Comrade Barcikowski has been advocating it for a long time. But again I can figure for myself what happens when self-governing bodies are set up everywhere, including territorial ones, and when any of them does some mischief. Certainly a big mouth will then emerge shouting: It is the government's fault that this happened!

[Question] Such situations would probably not occur if the idea of public consultations were observed. Our experience in this sphere has thus far not been too spectacular. On the one hand, the public is not prepared to make assessments requiring professional political and economic skills, and on the other, the authorities sometimes act arbitrarily, disregarding public opinion. Therefore, should we be in favor of a system of consultations? Will this not be just an attractive slogan?

[Answer] I agree both with the question and the assessment contained therein. However, public consultations are not and will not be a mere slogan which we use as a smoke screen. Nonetheless, on the other hand, we should have made -- and this we failed to do both as a government and society -- a list of issues concerning social policy, issues which must and must not be consulted upon because, for example, should democracy consist in having to consult upon each decision to be adopted by our government, that government would resemble a ramshackled horse grazing in a pasture and whipped up to win the first price at the Sluzewce races.

As a matter of fact, traditionally democratic societies, as a rule, do not get involved in consultation. The main role belongs to polls. For example, when a government is not certain that the decision it intends to adopt will meet with support, it orders a specific polling program at a center studying public opinion, and if, for example, 60 percent or the votes are favorable, the government does not hesitate to adopt the decision, because the majority will support it. That is the point.

We also have such polls, but still do not use them as a basis for decisionmaking. We simply have no such practices. Now we create the tradition of consulting, which is actually more complicated and arduous, delaying the decisionmaking process and, in addition, bringing about all kinds of misunderstandings, because in our country -- and this is one of the features of democracy -- the rule that the minority must be subordinate to the majority, even if that minority amounts to 49 percent, is not even worth a penny.

Everyone would like his opinion to prevail, and if that is not the case, then the word manipulation is uttered to kill everything. They are manipulating again...

The problem of consultation must be put on the agenda, and the point must be clearly stated. I do not imagine an efficient and smoothly working authority willing to consult even on the most insignificant and simple question. That would not be any kind of democracy, but rather some improbable creature making life difficult for all.

[Question] You belong to a government which from the very beginning has been nicknamed the government of national salvation. It is chaired by the national defense minister, and generals are in charge of several ministries. What would you say about the effects of that military presence on the work of the cabinet?

[Answer] Let me start from a personal confession. When General Jaruzelski offered me the functions of a deputy premier, I certainly did not expect to find in a short time among the military so much friendliness and appreciation as a result of joining his cabinet. I would like to say that this was mutual: I also have learned to greatly respect people wearing uniforms. I consider that the quarter-military government -- one can say so -- has a positive role today. Army representatives have certainly contributed an essential factor toward the government's efforts to bring discipline among the clerks. Some people even consider that General Jaruzelski too seldom makes use of military discipline. However, I think he makes use of it when it is necessary indeed, and he does it prudently.

Under our country's present conditions, it was very good that the Army structure resisted the crisis, because the Army has the important role of being a stabilizing factor. Whenever I go to the premier's office and cross the room of the aides-de-camp, I feel better, because I can see that this is one of the few fields in the nation's life that functions without disturbances.

In a word, my sentiments for the Army are enormous, which is perhaps a result of the fact that I was myself a Polish officer for several years. Yet what matters are not sentiments, but the realistic evaluation of the situation and of the needs brought about by it. From that point of view, the participation of Army representatives in the government, in my opinion, is very advantageous. I would also like to add -- and this is my personal statement -- that I feel great cooperating with Wojciech Jaruzelski. I did not expect that something that I call male friendship would take shape so quickly, something that must not be advertised too much, but simply must continue. Speaking frankly, this enables me to better endure difficult moments.

[Question] The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs is a new thing in the post-August period. How do you appraise its work in the last 6 months? Has the committee used all chances to relax and solve social conflicts?

[Answer] Let me begin with technical data. As you know, there is a minister for trade unions and a bureau for trade unions. This ministry is the smallest we have because Stanislaw Ciosek's staff numbers only six people. We also have the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, which was set up 6 months ago and which is staffed by the heads of various departments. It is a small committee, but other ministers are invited to attend its sessions, depending on the agenda. We also have seven social advisors, including columnist Wieslaw Gornicki, sociologist Zbigniew Sufin, Krzysztof Toeplitz and others. Other components are the voivodship committee for trade unions headed by vice ministers. In addition, in every department an under secretary of state is appointed to take charge of trade union issues. Within 6 months we have created a permanent administrative structure, which, as you know, has turned out to be most necessary.

[Question] Will this structure be further developed?

[Answer] Not quite, except that it must have a strong publishing echelon, which we lack. In view of Solidarity's extremely efficient and aggressive propaganda machine we should have an expanded publishing echelon that is at least just as efficient.

Do you know that we could produce thick "white books" containing the statements against the PZPR and the alliance with the USSR? Such books should be published continuously to tell everyone what is at stake. In his TV precongress speech, Lech Walesa said that we should stop stupid polemics. But this is not stupid polemics! What is at stake is our place in Europe and the country's future.

That is why we should at once respond to attacks with brochures, "white books" or even leaflets and simply illustrate the manifestations that in our view are in conflict with the accords signed last year. Unfortunately, we are still too ponderous in this regard, partly because this sector of the Council of Ministers' activities is quite new and calls for the creation of an entire political and organizational structure, one that is not, of course, tuned to combating trade unions, but to helping the committee to sensibly implement its current tasks. We have already outlined some main lines of activities. We would now be much further in our work but for the fact that my colleagues and I have spend most of the time in the past 6 months helping relax and solve conflicts.

[Question] Your activities were necessary and mostly effective. The Warsaw accord of 30 March was an undoubted success.

[Answer] I also suffered a defeat. The Warsaw accord was really a success, especially since the country was on the threshhold of a general strike and its incalculable effects. The accord cost me a great deal of nerves, but the fiasco of the talks during the night of 6 to 7 August cost me much more.

It was purely personal anguish because I was disappointed by my partners, although I was convinced that they would leave the office of the Council of Ministers with a signed accord. Here, in this office of mine Lech Walesa was with me that evening. It was 30 minutes before the signing ceremony when they brought us the document in question. Walesa read it and murmured something like this: "Well, this is not what I want, but we will sign it." This was followed by a plenary session, and you know the rest: Celinski read that piece of paper saying that the talks had been held and asking for the government's representative to go to Gdansk. I regarded that as the defeat of my life. It is clear that this is my private reaction, which must not affect the work of the committee I lead.

Of course, later on Solidarity propaganda people twisted everything 180 degrees to show that Rakowski had broken off talks, whereas I was very keen on reaching an accord and so was, mainly, my chief because we thought that if another accord were signed to the advantage of Solidarity and ourselves -- the accord was a compromise and could not be anything else -- then the hunger marches would be cancelled and we would again have a period of social calm which we needed so much. I felt cheated as a human being and not as a deputy premier and the government's representative. I will not mention the deceptive activities of Solidarity propaganda, which, it seems, is expert in twisting the facts.

Some weeks ago Solidarity sent me a Telex proposing a TV appearance together with Walesa....

[Question] A kind of TV duel between politicians?

[Answer] Probably something like that. I ignored that proposal and I did this consciously, probably because I was unable at that time to face TV cameras together with Mr Walesa. Perhaps in a month's time I will be able to do so. I was simply disappointed. This is human. Yes, someone may say that a politician should be above disappointment, but I am not some cool British lord. I am a slave, a Pole born on the banks of the Notec River.

[Question] It will probably be necessary for you to negotiate with Walesa and other Solidarity officials tomorrow or the day after. Hopefully such negotiations will not take place in such dramatic circumstances as those after the Bydgoszcz events.

[Answer] Well, certainly it will be necessary. Such talks are necessary and, second, they may be useful. In the light of the present experience and the situation created by the first round of the Solidarity congress such negotiations will make sense only if they are not like the endless Panmunjon sessions where each side states its position and then leaves the room.

For example, in the past 2 weeks some citizens have appealed, mainly to us, that we should at once talk with the Solidarity leadership. There are also people who think that we do not want to talk, which is a misunderstanding. In my PAP interview I said that we did not plan talks with Solidarity before the second round of its congress -- for two reasons. First, our position on key political issues was expressed by the Politburo statement and by the Council of Ministers communique. The Solidarity press spokesman's response was at least evasive. He did not touch upon the main issues. Second, a meeting a few days before the second round of the congress would not be much good. What is more, people might accuse us of wanting to exert a virtually physical pressure on the Solidarity leadership. Besides, you do not hold such talks just to be able to say later on that talks were held. Political commonsense suggests that we should wait for the second round to take place.

[Question] At the present Solidarity congress in Gdansk people often recall the brief bur very rich history of the union. Was it possible to foresee a year ago how Solidarity would fare and what factors would influence its social situation and role?

[Answer] Solidarity leaders' statements of a year ago suggest that most of them saw themselves as leaders of an independent, self-governing union that defends workers' interests. It is very interesting and instructive to recall what they did say at that time. For example, Gwiazda said he wanted to cooperate with the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, but later on the only manifestation of such cooperation was the fact that the Industrial Branch Trade Union delegation sat side by side with the Solidarity delegation at an ILO conference in Geneva. A picture also appeared showing Lech Walesa with Albin Szyszka.

Later on, during the second phase of the union -- I do not know exactly when it began -- Solidarity clearly became a social movement in addition to its trade union commitments. A purely political and oppositionist faction of the union, which attracted a part of Solidarity, came into being at once. There is no doubt that the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] people, especially Jacek Kuron, played an enormous role in developing that faction.

In this connection I would like to stress that it is most important and necessary to discriminate. We must not say "Solidarity in general" because if we do we offend millions of workers who have nothing to do with opposition and who are merely subjected to manipulation which, I admit, is excellent.

In the past 2 or 3 months a clear faction has appeared which is enormously keen on playing the role of political opposition vis-a-vis the PZPR and the authorities.

[Question] Do you think that the Solidarity opposition faction can produce a new, homogeneous and anticommunist party?

[Answer] It is hard to say but, taking into account the many possibilities of future development, we should be ready for such a contingency. For example, one Mr Milewski from Gdansk, organizer of the so-called Polish Labor Party, says openly that he will take the entire political opposition out of Solidarity and make it thus a purely trade union movement. There are other concepts, all unrealistic to me.

What is the drama of some Solidarity leaders? It is that peace and quiet spell political death to them and mean that Solidarity will become a purely trade union movement. Not so long ago one of them said: "They will not drive us to growing onions." I know what he meant! Under the impact of many undoubted successes many Solidarity leaders have acquired the ambition to play a leading role in political life. I can understand such amibitions, but I am against camouflage.

When one rejects the allegations that one wants to take over power and yet one adopts a message for the working people in the USSR and other Eastern countries and one announces that one will work out one's own electoral law for the People's Councils -- that is, denies the Council of State and so on and so forth -- is all that not an attempt to take over power?

The existence of many streams within Solidarity is obvious to the naked eye, which is why I agree with Lech Walesa that Solidarity has found itself in a blind alley. It has. It must choose between political opposition or of partnership with the authorities.

[Question] In your interview for PAP you said that partnership had been buried at the Solidarity congress. Does this mean that you have given up your thesis that partnership is necessary?

[Answer] Of course I have not given it up, but I think that we have reached a stage in the development of the political situation where we must spell out everything and leave nothing unsaid. There can be no partnership with anticommunists and with adversaries and enemies of the PZPR and people's power. Even if the idea of partnership was buried in Gdansk, this does not at all mean that this idea has been abandoned elsewhere. I hope that people will be found among Solidarity leaders who will accept the idea of a partnership accord.

However, I would like to add that a partnership accord can be based only on the idea of concordant cooperation, which is not devoid of criticism. I am dreaming of a structure of the political system within which the trade unions, which stand unbending guard over the working people's interests, function as independent trade unions -- ones that are not commandeered by the apparatus of power.

[Question] People say that you have changed your views and take a different view of partnership.

[Answer] This is not true. I have often said that, professing the idea of partnership, I should write a second installment of my article "Respect the Partner" in order to make it clear that not only those in power, but also their partners, should be respectful. Does this represent a change in my views of partnership? The trouble is that some people hear what I said and some read what I have not written.

As for changing one's view, it is not reprehensible to do so. The only point is: What old views are changed and why, and what new views replace them. My views about Gierek are the point at issue. It is true that I supported the plans for Poland's accelerated development and for modernization. Can you consider that an error? Undoubtedly not. But when I saw that things were going wrong, I began to criticize, as attested to by records. It is true that my criticism was restricted by circumstances and that here and there I paid the then necessary homage to the court, but even a superficial reader noticed increasing criticism in my writings, beginning with 1973 or thereabout. My life's philosophy is still determined by the same two aims. The struggle for humanist values and for a rational approach to life.

It is said that I have changed my views because I attack Solidarity. First, what kind of politician would I be if I did not stress the need to pay attention to such and such a sector today and to another sector tomorrow? If I am resolutely against Solidarity, for example, I have -- to my mind -- reasons for it, which does not necessarily mean that I am Solidarity's sworn enemy. Unfortunately, within a year a beautiful role of intolerance has blossomed in our political life. Many people regard criticism of Solidarity as something unworthy. I will never come to terms with such customs.

[Question] How then do you view a politician's responsibility vis-a-vis the social group he represents and vis-a-vis the people -- under our Polish conditions, of course?

[Answer] Bearing in mind and taking into account the circumstances as they are, a politician should above all be frank toward public opinion, straightforward, honest and as far as possible speak the truth at all times, which also includes unfavorable truth, which is badly received by his social group and by all the people.

What do I mean by truth? A politician should be a realist and a rationalist in evaluating events he witnesses or even creates. This is no doubt the most important task in view of the fact that human beings are naturally fond of myths and mythology. That is why a politician's duty toward his society is to be realistic in evaluating events. And this involves spreading the truth, including unpopular truths.

PAX CHAIRMAN ADVOCATES 'GRAND COALITION'

PM021413 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Stefan Cieply interview with Ryszard Reiff, member of the Polish Council of State, chairman of the Pax organization and deputy to the Sejm: "Following a Broad Compromise, a Grand Coalition Would Give Us a Chance" -- date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Politicians as well as the press called the agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie a year ago a grand compromise. During your speech at the last session of the Sejm, you used for the first time the expression "grand coalition." Would you like to expand on this subject?

[Answer] The term grand compromise related to the sociopolitical situation that prevailed at the time and, as a result of it, we avoided a general strike; that is, we avoided the very worst. The grand compromise was tantamount to a cease-fire. However, we have so far achieved no social contract, nor does anything presage one....

[Question] We have called these "agreements," among other things, a new social contract....

[Answer] I am aware of this. However, it has become evident during the past year that the movement which came into being at that time has not only some negative features directed against mistakes made by the authorities but also some positive aims ensuing from a desire for the community's greater participation in the exercise of power. And at this point we reach the concept of "grand coalition"....

[Question] A coalition among whom and against whom?

[Answer] Against the abyss toward which the country is sliding, as well as against deadlock, catastrophe, intervention, inertia and hundreds of other things which I could enumerate, and for a genuine reflection in the country's political structure of all the great social forces which, in fact, make up the concept of nation. The word "all" has to be explained, and at this point I agree with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski who said that, obviously, forces which consciously aim at doing away with our alliances and systems must be excluded. However, this line has been jeopardized by a continually broadening interpretation of the word "opposition," and, at this point, the situation is being reversed. In fact, if we call Solidarity the opposition, overlooking the fact that it has 10 million members, we will reach the conclusion that everybody belongs to the opposition.

[Question] Are potential members of such a coalition capable of forming it? Are they ready for it?

[Answer] In my opinion, none of them is ready to recognize the others. The church would occupy a special position in the triple alliance which I have mentioned. It performs an apostolic mission in the sphere of spiritual life and, at the same time, plays the role of a symbol of national patriotism and, furthermore, is involved in neither any particularism nor any short-term situation. However, it has so happened that a center comprising not only believers but also nonbelievers has formed around the church, because any center has value and social strength only if it consists of members with different outlooks on life.

Among its members there are Christians, party members, people who do not belong to the party, socialists and democrats, in short, all the people who would not be prepared to support either of the sides unequivocally if they were bent on confrontation. And, what is more, that center is being organized into a force whose aim is to prevent any confrontation.

[Question] Even though I could more or less agree with you as far as your explanation of the "center" concept is concerned, I can see no evidence to support the view that that center is either organizing itself or is inclined to be in sympathy with any of the three forces mentioned, including the church....

[Answer] The concept of a center is no abstract form of thought. It stems from our nation's special historical situation. The intensification of the threat is the substance from which that center will be built as an act of national consciousness.

[Question] I do not deny this; I have merely emphasized the lack of any point of organizational reference for that center.

[Answer] It seems to me that the letter written by the 33 [presumably a reference to an "appeal" to the authorities, Solidarity and the nation by a group of Polish intellectuals dated 22 September] was, in fact, an expression of the public need which we have been discussing and which we have called the "center." In any case, the number of signatures was a symbolic figure, since further statements in support of this attitude have been published. And since you are talking with a Catholic activist, I would like to be correctly understood. I have not used the concept of "center" as a cryptonym in a demanding sense for creating a confessional political organization. I view as a separate matter the Catholic circles' desire to participate in the country's political structure, and I merely wish to emphasize the church's chances with respect to the center's function as defined on the basis of various outlooks on life.

[Question] And you are not the only person to do so, because the church's role as mediator has been both referred to in statements by party political activists and reflected in some statements by Solidarity....

[Answer] The church is prepared to play such a role because, as a result of the consistent attitude adopted by the late Cardinal Wyszynski and because of his personality, it has achieved, as it were, a supraconfessional position, that of arbiter of the nation's crucial issues.

[Question] To be precise, it has achieved this position, let us say, during the past year.

[Answer] In a way. But in a sense it represents, as an institution which enjoys the people's confidence, Poland's higher interests.

[Question] I am sorry but, in my opinion, the community's confidence in all three sides has been constantly decreasing. After all, as we know, the church has also made some unsuccessful appeals for peace. However, let us forget this subject. In your speech, you stated that progress in the sphere of renewal is tantamount to progress in the sphere of confidence.

[Answer] Yes, and this is why renewal has continually been a postulate, but has not been accomplished. Since social protest has stemmed from a power crisis and alienation from the nation, renewal must be based on reciprocal communication between the nation and the authorities -- and between the authorities and the nation -- as a result of which the authorities' credibility would be a guarantee that they would be governed by the community's genuine desires and would be able to fulfill them.

[Question] This is a task set for one side only, whereas we have assumed during our talk that stabilization also depends on the two remaining sides.

[Answer] Let us wait and see; perhaps we will complement this view when the document is adopted.

[Question] A final question -- in the eyes of the generation of present-day Poles, the concept of a "grand coalition" is associated, from a purely political viewpoint, with the Christian Democratic Union-Social Democratic Party of Germany variant adopted in the FRG many years ago. As we know, this did not stand the test of time, even though the internal situation in the FRG was much calmer than it now is here.

[Answer] Any coalition should be considered from two viewpoints. First, from that of, as I understand it, a long-term formation of political structures which would ensure that the authorities are not alienated from the nation, and, second, from a short-term, even an interventionist viewpoint. There is no authority in Poland which could determine what is a genuine raison d'etat and what are the demands of present-day patriotism. Everybody utilizes these concepts for the benefit of his own group. Unless we create such an authority, an internal social division will take the form of hostile camps which will split the state structure. A gate will be opened for undermining Poland's independence through an internal crisis. If you agree with this assessment of the situation, you will see the need for what for practical purposes I have called a "grand coalition."

DISCUSSION ON POSSIBILITY OF CIVIL WAR REPORTED

LD041650 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1145 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] We draw attention to an interesting discussion published in the last issue of the weekly KULTURA. Taking part in the conversation are Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Ryszard Gorski, Andrzej Werblan and Dominik Horodynski. The title of the article: "Civil War."

Here, however, is the statement by Andrzej Werblan: I am against scaring people with civil war. I don't think any of us supports that. I don't think, either, that we are on the eve of civil war. Only a madman, and despite everything I cannot imagine it at the moment, would precipitate Poland into civil war. Why, then, are people talking and thinking about such a danger? Well, for some time, for several months, the policy of agreement has been in crisis. Events have begun to evolve in a way characterized by a constant increase in political tension between, on the one hand, Solidarity, and on the other, the authorities in the broad sense. A different polarization of society can also be seen recently. I think that this evolution, if it is not halted and reversed, could in reality threaten civil war as a further consequence, but not as a result of someone wanting to provoke it. One can imagine a different scenario. We have a worsening economic situation and constantly worsening living conditions for working people in the towns, primarily in the towns. This kind of worsening situation creates frustration, promotes tense feelings and leads to turmoil and even to anarchy. To remedy this, it is essential to take radical, energetic measures against this, it is essential to take radical, energetic measures against it which demand great social discipline.

The government, regardless of the correctness of the criticism levelled at it, is not taking effective enough measures, not so much because it is incapable of it, but mainly because it is not in a position to get the essential social acceptance. On the part of the largest mass social organization, Solidarity, the lack of trust in the authorities is continuing, as is a reluctance for constructive efforts. There is in it, too, an active minority which as a matter of principle wants to stay on the course of unilateral criticism and struggle with the authorities, because its social successes have been based on it and it has understood this. There is probably another smaller minority which (?harbors) political ambitions that go beyond just the role of being a trade union or even a social movement and does not rule out thoughts about power. [Words indistinct] taking over power seems too unfeasible for me to think sensibly about it.

Dominik Horodynski then says: That is not an argument -- that something is not sensible. Andrzej Werblan then responds: I know but I think that such strivings cannot have a broad backing. So, the linking of the two factors, the frustration of the masses and the blocking of action by the authorities, may lead to the development of conflicts, which will in fact spill over beyond the potential to be controlled. Then we may, regardless of anyone's will, be drawn first of all into rioting and then to an even worse direction. This is one possibility. One can imagine other scenarios. So for that reason, too, such propects must be prevented and this unfavorable evolution halted. I believe in this possibility and think it is the only desirable course of action.

CONDEMNATION OF 'ANTI-SOVIET ESCAPADES' URGED

PM021053 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 21 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Unattributed article under "Our Commentary" rubric: "More Than Just a Raison d'Etat"]

[Text] It is a great misfortune that for a number of years we in Poland were not allowed to defend our alliance with the Soviet Union by coming out against those who assumed a hostile attitude toward that world power. The cause of this prohibition was the pretense that such hostility did not exist at all, and that all Poles without exception -- and there are 35 million of them -- were filled with an ardent affection for our 260 million-strong neighbor, as well as for the 100 million-strong bloc of CEMA nations. Any declaration directed against unfriendly attitudes toward the Soviet Union and CEMA would have been evidence that such unfriendly attitudes did exist in the first place.

As a result of this, whispered anti-Soviet propaganda could, as it were, spread under the umbrella of censorship. Perhaps for this reason, or perhaps because of a different style of activity that was of a more bureaucratic and ceremonial nature, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society was never polemical in character.

It is surely a correct notion that alongside the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society there ought to exist a concentration of those Poles who are well aware of how precious is the alliance, not just of the government, but also of the Polish nation, with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries -- and not just for our raison d'etat, that is, for vital state interests, but also, clearly, for the state's existence and for preserving independence. Such a collective body should not be large in number as this would be detrimental to efficiency and would diminish the level of activeness which we regard as necessary. And it is necessary because insane anti-Soviet propaganda has powerful means at its disposal and finds adherents in sentiments which are patriotic in their intentions but which, may and even must, as a result, bring about a national disaster on an unprecedented scale.

Please note that at this stage of our reasoning we do not forecast an armed intervation. We are merely offering a reminder about a dilemma which we have formulated and out of which there is no third way.

Either we must assume that henceforth, all of a sudden, as of today or tomorrow, no country in the world will wish to enrich itself at the expense of its neighbor's lands, or else, if this hope, which is contradicted by the entire history of mankind, is not accepted as a certainty, then it cannot be ruled out that our Western territories will not be threatened by that nation which had held them in their possession for several centuries. If these lands are not being threatened, it is because we have the GDR for our Western neighbor, and in the East we are supported by the Soviet Union's forces. And, on the other hand, the Great Russians and the other peoples of the Soviet republics cannot be certain that one day there will not be a revival of Western aggression, and so friendship and a close alliance with a prosperous, thrifty and truly strong Poland is the only guarantee and protection for them against such a sinister possibility.

If the opponents of that concept were to be in the majority in our country the only option for the Soviet Union would be a Bismarck-type policy against us, an alliance of our two neighboring peoples, so much greater and stronger than ourselves. No intervention would be necessary for this -- a withdrawal of supplies of vital raw materials would be sufficient.

This truth, whose compelling realism makes it self-evident is overlooked by anti-Soviet propaganda. For the reasons which I mentioned to begin with, this truth is also left unsaid by propaganda in favor of the alliance. On the other hand the agitation for hostility operates either by inciting irrational sentiments of hatred or else by playing upon less consequential and mostly false arguments.

Just one example: the alleged impoverishment of Poland because of its trade with the Soviet Union. What should be said in reply to such a falsehood? How do we explain the self-evident fact that the crisis was engendered by our own incomprehensible grand style and also by the squandering of the fruits of our own labor and also of borrowed billions upon here luxury or else on projects which the masses do not need. Anyone who is unconvinced should ponder two statistics which we will cite as an example. The press, radio and television have greatly bewailed the fact that we spent $57 million on meat imports in the first half of 1981, yet the Polish Airline's luxurious building opposite Warsaw's central station cost $100 million alone and it was built by...a British firm: Is this also the fault of the Soviet Union?

We have to defend ourselves, and we are capable of defending ourselves against the suicidal escapades of madmen who, campaigning with empty catchwords, letting themselves be swayed by emotions and forgetting their common sense, torpedo what we still have and unwittingly drive us down to a lower, considerably lower, level in the heirarchy of nations.

On the other hand, the question arises: From where do our pseudopatriots derive such incomprehensible disregard for what is, after all, obviously the greatest threat? Perhaps from the fact that too little is taught about it in the schools, and adults have too little an understanding of the fact that the world, the whole of mankind respects and supports winners -- not not losers. It sould seem that the truth is as plain and simple as the fact that two and two make four. Meanwhile here in Poland this opinion sounds like a heresy -- even like sacrilege.

Why? Because the natural respect that is the due of victims of alien brute force, the respect for the defenseless victims of defeats sustained, is transformed into some kind of monstrous glorfication of defeat. And since defeat is being glorified, how then do we explain that it is a duty of politics to evade defeats and poverty and to aim for victories and prosperity? And that it is a shame and not an honor to be continuously the most defeated country in Europe, and one that collects handouts most frequently?

No sensible Pole whishes that Poland should glory in yet another defeat and erect yet another monument to its victims -- this is why the condemnation of all anti-Soviet escapades is so universal in Poland today.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE URGES MORE INVESTMENT IN BOOKS

LD022140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The Central Committee Culture Commission held a session under the chairmanship of Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The session was devoted almost entirely to an examination of the plan for the development of the production and dissemination of books. It was decided to appeal to the Government Presidium for the necessary resources to complete the construction of a printing plant in Gdansk and to accelerate the construction of a cellulose-paper plant in Kwidzyn. Both these investment projects are a realistic opportunity to achieve, in a relatively short space of time, a tangible improvement in the readers' market. Despite the difficulties which our economy is experiencing it was stressed that it is necessary to oppose those who think that savings should be sought above all in nonproductive spheres including in culture.

PZPR'S GRZYB ATTENDS SCHOOL OPENING IN RADOM

LD051848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Summary] The academic year began today at the Kazimierz Pulawski Polytechnic in Radom. "The ceremony was attended by Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and the administrators of the Radom Voivodship."

PARTY COMMISSIONS EXPEL SOME REGIONAL OFFICIALS

Nowy Sacz Officials

LD052030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] By the decision of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship Party Control Commission, Dr Pawel Kuklinski, the former chief director of Szczawnica-Kroscienko health resort, has been expelled from the PZPR, for proven charges of mismanagement and abuse of his official capacity for personal gain. The regional prosecutor's office in Nowy Targ has been conducting proceedings in this case. Mieczyslaw Daniukow, former first secretary of the PZPR municipal and parish committee in Muszyna, has been expelled from the party for conducting improper personnel policy and for improper collaboration.

Bielsko-Biala Officials

LD021842 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The special team of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship Party Control Commission, after investigating charges against former representatives of political and administrative authorities of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship, has excluded from the ranks of the PZPR Jozef Buzinski, former first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Bielsko-Biala; Jozef Labudek, former voivoda of Bielsko-Biala; and Elzbieta Mroczek, former first secretary of the municipal party committee in Bielsko-Biala.

CZESTOCHOWA CONTINUES REPORT-BACK CONFERENCE

LD040240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] The second stage of the Czestochowa Voivodship party report-back and election conference was devoted to policy matters.

Wladyslaw Jonkisz, first secretary of the voivodship party committee, devoted a great deal of attention in his speech to the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary party congress. He said that the achievements of the congress had not been sufficiently reflected as yet in the activities of daily life are causing many party members to be less active. The speaker continued by saying that what is needed to slow down the decline in internal party discipline is for party organizations to thoroughly assess all members and candidate members of the PZPR. A considerable part of the discussion was given over to an analysis of the phenomena which are adversely affecting industrial and agricultural production.

LODZ PARTY PLENUM DISCUSSES DIFFICULTIES

AU051408 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Jan Karaszewski report: "PZPR Lodz Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 28 September plenum of the Lodz PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization in the present socioeconomic situation. The session was chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee. Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak was present.

The report of the Executive Committee presented by the voivodship secretary, Maria Warzynska, discussed the present social, political and economic situation of the country and the voivodship.

The extraordinary situation, the report reads, calls for extraordinary measures. The struggle for food must be one of our most urgent tasks, and all the forces of the party and of the front of national accord must be united in this struggle. We do not want only to take! We call on all workforces in Lodz Voivodship and on all workers, who are known for their commitment and dedicated and honest efforts, to join the struggle for better, more effective and more effi ient production.

We call on the government to draw up a schedule for stabilizing the individual sectors of the market and for decisively improving the organization of the supply and sale of rationed goods.

That appeal was strongly reflected in the ensuing discussion, whose participants pointed out that a situation had developed where people look at each other instead of getting down to hard work -- all of them -- because without hard work we will not overcome our difficult situation. The economy is an interconnected system of various sectors, all of which must cooperate if the system is to be effective.

The country's political situation was the other important feature of the session, which pointed to the great responsibility of the present Solidarity congress.

Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak said that in its statutory form Solidarity is a permanent element of the political system and that the present struggle involves the defense of the system, the normal life of Polish families and the protection of party people against persecution. We should bear in mind that even new and upright party members, who are not saddled with errors and who are often comrades in work, are subject to attacks.

The session was summed up by Tadeusz Czechowicz who pointed out that it is necessary to mobilize all progressive forces for the good of all the people and the workers class.

The session was attended by Leslaw Tokarski, head of the Central Committee Department of Press, Radio and Television.

TRADE WITH USSR, CEMA REPORTED, ANALYZED

'Most Stable Trade'

LD022238 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] A press conference has been held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The main topics of the conference were economic cooperation and trade relations with foreign countries, chiefly with the Soviet Union. After the conference our reporter Grazyna Pudelko interviewed Jerzy Pajkalski, director of the Department for Cooperation with the Soviet Union.

[Begin Paljalski recording] It is claimed that the main reason for the crisis in Poland is the specific nature of our foreign trade, particularly that with the Soviet Union, and that the balance of payments collapse, for example, is caused by the introduction of the transferable ruble for calculating purposes from 1977 or by setting up the International Bank for Economic Cooperation. In attempts to analyze our relations with foreign countries, imports are often not taken into account. One can say that exports are a sort of controversial sphere. Yet they are quite simply the export of goods for obtaining the necessary resources to pay for imports. We know that our economy has a relatively high level of imports. We know that in 1980 the import of raw materials and goods amounted to nearly half of Poland's overall imports. [sentence as heard]

Against this background I would perhaps like to say a few words about the state of trade with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, as is well known, is our main partner. At present the turnover with the Soviet Union comes to about 35 percent of the total turnover in Polish foreign trade. We think that in the near future -- bearing in mind the problems we are having with the West -- there will be a tendency for the role played by the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries in Poland's foreign trade to be strengthened because this trade is the most stable. [end recording]

Karski on Difficulties

LD022131 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (PAP) -- Poland signed the first in the series of her five-year agreements on trade and payments with socialist countries for 1981-85 in Plovdiv recently. Explaining the reasons for the delay in negotiating these agreements, Polish Minister of Foreign Trade and Shipping Ryszard Karski told PAP that the problems are chiefly on the Polish side. It is a well-known fact that production in many industries suffered a slump. This has a bearing on our export capabilities. So far the five-year plan for 1981-85 has not been (?drafted). This makes it difficult not only to meet current export obligations, but also to define our export possibilities for [the] next years, which is a condition of negotiating accords.

Current export deliveries are not far behind the planned targets, the minister conceded, but that is only because the targets themselves have been downsized. The greatest problem is with coal as Poland used to be the major supplier of all her socialist partners. Her failure to meet the planned export quotas results in serious perturbations in their economies.

Minister Karski stressed the good will of Bulgarian negotiators who, being well aware of the situation prevailing in Poland, met (?Poland's postulates) halfway. Bulgaria undertook to increase her shipments to Poland of such scarce items as fruit and vegetables and preserves, medicines, cigarettes, wines, cognacs, sports goods and basic cosmetics. All in all, the turnover planned for 1981-85 will exceed that of the last quinquennium by 36 percent.

USSR Remains Shipyards Customer

LD042238 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Oct (PAP) -- In recent years Polish export to the Soviet Union in this respect accounted for one-third of this country's overall production of ships and the proportion is expected to be maintained in the next five years. Soviet orders cover long series of ships as a rule and the contracts are mainly long-range ones, which makes it possible to adequately plan the production capacities of shipyards, introduce technical innovations, etc, experts say.

The Soviet Union will remain the biggest customer of Polish shipyards, the more so as the shelf agreement for Polish deliveries of vessels for the Soviet Union to explore marine resources of oil and gas opens new prospects in the field.

Without huge Soviet orders, Poland's shipbuilding industry would not have been able to develop the way it did after the war nor would it have been able to join the world competition in the field or enter capitalist markets. It was chiefly due to Soviet orders in previous years that Poland can now make less material-consuming vessels with a rich technical outfit. By the end of last year the Soviet shipowners purchased 748 vessels from Polish shipyards.

1981-85 TRADE AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA SIGNED

Gwiazda Interviewed

LD012328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1840 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Excerpts] With our economic situation as it is, trade and economic contacts with foreign countries, particularly those closest to us, acquire a particular significance. During the last few days, talks have been held with Bulgaria. This morning, Anna Andrezejewska visited Wladyslaw Gwiazda, undersecretary of state for foreign trade responsible for cooperation with socialist countries.

[Begin recording] [Andrzejewska] Mr Minister, we have signed a new 5-year contract with Bulgaria and this is one of the first contracts of its kind signed with a socialist country. Apart from the traditional battery-electric trucks and the traditional supplies of farming and food articles -- which are tremendously important for us -- are there any changes in the structure of our trade and our cooperation with Bulgaria for the next few years?

[Answer] As far as imports are concerned, they cannot be defined simply by referring to battery-electric and fuel-powered [spalinowy] trucks, although they are essential. Supplies embrace a series of other items and also elements of cooperation [passage indistinct] cooperation in (?engines) and automobiles. I have in mind oil filters and air filters for quite large sums. As far as farming and food stuffs are concerned, imports will be quite considerable. However, in the group of market goods to which we paid particular attention, we will gain additional supplies of pharmaceuticals -- goods like (word indistinct] and cosmetics, toothpaste and also cigarettes.

[Question] The Bulgarians deferred our payments because of the negative balance of payments we have with this country.

[Answer] So far our balance of payments has been in the red, amounting to over R100 million annually. In the first years of the 5-year period that balance will be maintained and it will be lowered only toward the end of the present 5-year period, that is in the years 1983-85.

[Question] Are we threatened with having to pay all the debt at once?

[Answer] No. The fact of the matter is that with the level of balance from 1981 being maintained in 1982, and then in the years 1983-85 we will gradually bring the balance down, obviously without finally liquidating it, since for the moment we do not see such a possibility. The Bulgarian side agreed to this.

[Question] Does the economic situation and the contract signed with Bulgaria for the next 5 years take into account the matter of tourism? Will we be able to travel individually to Bulgaria for holidays in the next years, or will the situation remain as it is this year?

[Answer] While considering the matter of the balance of payments, tourism is obviously an important item. In connection with this it was determined that in the coming years tourism would remain at its present level, that is, about R30 million annually, with the chance of a possible increase in future years. However, whether this will be only organized tourism, as this year, or individual tourism too, depends on the tourist organizations of both countries reaching agreement. [end recording]

Trade Agreement Details

LD021254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Poland has signed a trade and payments agreement with Bulgaria for the years 1981-85. This is the first agreement with a European CEMA country for the current 5-year period.

Foreign Trade Minister Ryszard Karski, in an interview with a PAP journalist, stated that delays in signing the agreement result from the present difficult situation in our country and from the fact that no 5-year plan has been drafted so far. In many sectors production has collapsed and this exerts a direct influence on our export possibilities and the completion of agreements.

As to the agreement signed with Bulgaria, Karski went on, our main export items to that country will be machines and plants, especially building and road-building equipment which are greatly appreciated there and used on all building sites.

In addition we will supply the Bulgarian shipyard with ship engines made at the Cegielski plant ship assemblies and other installations. We will start to export to Bulgaria the Fiat 126B which, next to the Zuk, Nysa and Fiat 125B, will represent our car industry on that market. We will also supply raw materials.

From Bulgaria we will buy three bulk carriers with a 38,000-ton capacity each, battery-powered electric trucks and gas-powered trucks, computer technology equipment and medical apparatus. The agreement also provides for the stepping up of supplies of spare parts for Bulgarian plants operating in Poland. The list of purchases from Bulgaria also will include raw materials and materials for production

More on Agreements

LD052218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Polish foreign trade agencies have concluded contracts with Bulgarian firms to the value of approximately 50 million rubles at the international technological fair in Plovdiv which ended today. A Polish-Bulgarian trade agreement for the next 5-year period has also been signed. The agreement envisages, among other things, the import of Bulgarian market goods such as tomatoes, peppers and grapes, and also cigarettes, pharmaceutical products and toothpaste. The Polish deficit in trade with Bulgaria at present amounts to approximately 120 million rubles.

OBODOWSKI VISITS FRANCE, SEEKS ECONOMIC HELP

Meeting With Trade Minister

LD011026 Warsaw PAP in English 0922 GMT 30 Sep 81

[Text] Paris, 30 Sept (PAP) -- Vice-Premier Janusz Obodowski who is having economic talks in France met today with Foreign Minister Michel Jobert. They reviewed problems connected with the work of the Polish-French governmental Commission for Economic Cooperation.

Meeting With Mauroy

PM011049 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Oct 81 p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric: "Foreign News"]

[Text] Mr Pierre Mauroy had a meeting on 29 September with Mr Obodowski, Polish Deputy Premier and cochairman of the joint intergovernmental Commission for Franco-Polish Economic Cooperation.

After this meeting the Polish minister stated that he had discussed Poland's "difficult economic situation" and efforts to improve it. Mr Obodowski also met with Mr Jobert, foreign trade minister and cochairman of the joint commission. A Franco-Polish agreement is to be signed 30 September -- an agreement under which France would grant new credit facilities to Poland, the latter supplying in return some raw materials like sulfur and copper.

Talks End in Paris

LD012354 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Oct (PAP) -- The eighth session of the Polish-French intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation ended in Paris today. The work of the commission was directed by Janusz Obodowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and Michel Jobert, French foreign trade minister. During the session an analysis was made of the two countries' economic relations during the past 18 months. The participants concentrated on analyzing those forms of cooperation which could be developed despite the crisis in Poland. Primarily at issue was the growth of Polish exports. The French side stated that it is easing access to its market of some Polish goods which have so far been subjected to restrictions, that there are increased orders for ships, and that it is purchasing services of every kind. The commission also examined Poland's basic needs for goods and credits (?for the last quarter of 1981 and for 1982). Decisions were made making it possible to make full use of the existing credit lines and also to continue purchases of goods next year.

"I am very pleased with the visit and with my talks with Premier Mauroy," Janusz Obodowski said in a conversation with Marek Ostrowski, PAP's Paris correspondent. "For many years, Polish-French cooperation (?has been developing well), despite differences in both countries' sociopolitical systems." Janusz Obodowski gave a positive assessment of the results of his visit. Assessing the visit from a financial-economic point of view he said:

"On the one hand I am pleased that we have succeeded in elucidating questions to such an extent that we may expect to be granted credits in 1982. However, we have not succeeded in solving other questions of interest to us. I hope that the forthcoming [words indistinct] (?visit) by (Foreign Minister Cheysson) and Premier Mauroy to Poland will lead to further agreements being reached."

KANIA RECEIVES BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR NEDEV

LD032136 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Oct (PAP) -- PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania received the ambassador of Bulgaria to Poland Ivan Nedev.

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED IN NEW YORK

LD032324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Interview with Jozef Wiejacz, under secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry, by Anna Andrzewska, in New York; time not given -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] The general debate at the session of the UN General Assembly is drawing to a close. Has it fulfilled the hopes we have been attaching to it? The Polish problem has been raised at the session, perhaps not in such a drastic form as some feared, but nevertheless it has been dealt with.

[Answer] Well, perhaps this is a slight exaggeration but nevertheless some of the speeches indeed contained remarks concerning the situation in Poland and the implications of that situation in the context of Europe as a whole. There have also been certain allusions and references.

I must say that in a few cases we were very dissatisfied because some of the speeches by representatives of Western countries contained elements, I would say, of interference or an intention to influence the development of the situation in Poland. However, speaking of the general debate, as far as the socialist countries are concerned, it was particularly stressed that it is necessary to take every step to ensure the preservation of world peace and progress in the field of disarmament and in slowing down the arms race. As for local conflicts, it was stressed that it is necessary to step up efforts aimed at a peaceful solution of these conflicts by political means. As for the speech by Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek, his speech, I would say, also belonged to the latter group of speechs; perhaps with specific emphasis in connection with the various speculations and conjectures concerning the situation in Poland and the possible outcome of that situation. Minister Czyrek very clearly stressed the unchanging character of the principles and directions of the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic; he also expressed his attitude on a number of topical issues and briefly described the current situation in Poland.

[Question] In all the speeches on the subject of Poland made in the United Nations during the general debate it was emphasized that we can tackle the solution of our own problems ourselves, without anybody's help.

[Answer] Indeed, indeed, and I would say that this emphasis is even stronger now than ever before. This derives from the fact that in the speeches of almost all the representatives the common denominator was the growing anxiety about the international situation, especially with regard to relations between East and West. In this respect the Polish issue comes to the fore.

[Question] Perhaps we can return for a moment to European issues and to the subject of Poland. Do you have the impression, after reading comments in our neighbors' press concerning Poland, that there is some discord in our relations with socialist countries?

[Answer] Well, as for political contacts, they are very vigorous; Poland is making its contribution in a fairly active way. A moment ago we were talking about the meetings of our foreign minister. This is not all. There are other activities. True enough, there have been references which reflect a certain concern and they are not groundless if the present trend in Poland continues, the trend which questions, frequently and sometimes loudly, socialism in Poland or the significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance. Of course, it is necessary to add at this point that this trend does not reflect the views of the majority of the nation, but nevertheless, it is rather vociferous and, I would say, rather amplified of late. Personally, I am of the opinion that the sooner an end is put to this the better for Poland's national interests.

SWEDEN'S PALME ON SITUATION'S RESOLUTION

LD280204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Sep 81

[Text] The participants in the congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which is holding a session in Stockholm, have expressed deep disquiet at the growing threat of military confrontation in the world and have appealed to world public opinion for increased efforts on behalf of international disarmament and detente. Chairman of the party Olof Palme, referring in his speech to the situation in Poland, stated that the Swedish public is following the events in our country with tense attention, because they are closely connected with the cause of the security of the whole of Europe. The Swedish Social Democrats consider that the Poles' affairs should be resolved by the Poles themselves without any external intereference.

OLTEANU GREETS HUNGARIAN COUNTERPART ON ARMY DAY

AU021225 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Sep 81 p 5

[Text] On the Hungarian armed forces day, Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory telegram to Army General Lajos Czinege, minister of national defense of the Hungarian People's Republic.

FILM DAYS IN BUCHAREST MARK PRC ANNIVERSARY

AU021223 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] PRC film days began at the Studio movie theater in Bucharest on 29 September. Organized on the 32d anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC, the film days first showed the movie "Idyll in the Lushan Mountains" which was recently made by the Chinese movie studios. The program also includes such movies as "The Red Peony" and "It Is Not About Love."

The event was attended by Ion Galeteanu, secretary of state at the Council for Socialist Education and Culture; representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; members of the leadership of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association and the Cinema Association; other men of art and culture; and a large audience.

PRC ambassador in Bucharest Chen Shuliang and embassy members, as well as chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to our country and diplomatic corps members, were also present.

ECONOMIC DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO TEHRAN

AU021923 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Tehran, 2 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The visit made in Tehran by the Romanian Government economic delegation led by Emilian Dobrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee, came to an end.

The head of the Romanian delegation, together with Mohammad Taqi Banki, minister of state, head of the Planning and Budget Organization, signed a document detailing the ways and means of action for an important and balanced increase of trade exchanges and for deepening and intensifying economic cooperation in industry, agriculture, transport, oil industry, petrochemistry, energy and water sources use, upon mutually advantageous bases.

The two delegations expressed their government's determination to expand the bilateral relations in all domains of mutual interest, convinced as they are that this serves the Romanian and Iranian peoples' interests.

At the same time, they stressed that the Romanian-Iranian collaboration rests on the lasting principles of observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-immixture in internal affairs, observance of every people's right to choose its development path by itself.

RCP'S COMAN MEETS BRITISH OFFICIALS IN LONDON

AU021854 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee met in London with Gordan McLennan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Great Britain, on the occasion of his participation in the proceedings of the Labor Party national conference. He conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the secretary general of the Communist Party of Great Britain and to British communists on behalf of RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu. Expressing thanks, Gordon McLennan in turn conveyed warm, comradely greetings and wishes for new successes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the RCP and to the Romanian people.

During their talk, the two sides discussed certain aspects of the international communist and workers movement, and stressed the need to strengthen its unity on the basis of the principles of mutual esteem and respect, equality and autonomy for each party, and of settling interparty problems through friendly discussions held in the spirit of the general interests of the working people and of the cause of progress and socialism. Expressing satisfaction with the good relations of friendship and cooperation established between the RCP and the Communist Party of Great Britain, both sides expressed the desire to further strengthen them, in the interests of the two parties and of cooperation between the Romanian and British peoples, and of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

On the occasion of his participation in the proceedings of the Labor Party national conference, Comrade Ion Coman also met with Ron Hayward, Secretary General of the Labor Party; former prime minister James Callaghan; Alex Kitson, chairman of the National Executive Committee; Joan Lester, chairman of the Labor Party International Committee; James Johnson, chairman of the British Parliamentary Group of Friendship with Romania, and other members of the National Executive Committee, deputies and trade union leaders. They examined international developments, and emphasized the noteworthy efforts made by President Nicolae Ceausescu to promote political dialogue as the only means of settling contemporary problems. Opportunities were highlighted for developing the relations between the two parties, in the interests of peace and cooperation among nations.

LIBYA DISCUSSES ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROJECTS

AU051913 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Over September 27-October 3, (Al Sadek Lutfi Abu Argoub), undersecretary at the Secretariat of the General Services of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, conducted talks in connection with the preparation of the agreement on the working conditions of the personnel contributing to the achievement of economic cooperation projects between the two countries, agreement covenanted during the visit Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi paid to Romania.

The guest was received by Maxim Berghianu, minister of labour, Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and had interviews with Gheorghe Fierbinteanu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry and with Mihail Tenea, deputy minister of the Department of Construction in Foreign Countries.

The talks passed in a warm atmosphere of friendship and mutual collaboration.

BRIEFS

PRC ANNIVERSARY MARKED -- Bucharest, 29 Sep (AGERPRES) -- On the 32nd anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, that country's air, naval and military attache in Bucharest, Wang Zhenxi, met with teaching staff and cadets of the "Dimitrie Cantemir" military lyceum to whom he spoke about the celebrated event. A pictorial exhibition presenting aspects of the life and activity of the military of the Chinese People's Liberation Army was visited and documentary films were shown. [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 29 Sep 81 AU]

MEDIA REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS AT SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

Soviet Attitude Noted

AU022047 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] As expected, the second part of the Polish Solidarity trade union congress has not succeeded in mollifying the irreconcilable attitude manifested in Moscow toward the trade union, TANJUG correspondent reports. The Solidarity program document has been assessed negatively as displaying an orientation against the interests of socialist Poland.

The Soviet public has been informed that the delegates in Gdansk do not concern themselves with trade union but purely political questions, with the aim, according to Moscow's interpretation, of determining when and how Solidarity should embark on a direct struggle to seize power.

In a report from Warsaw, TASS has presented the opinion that Solidarity is discussing how radical the destruction of Poland's socialist institutions and alliance links should be, the Moscow correspondent adds in conclusion of his report.

Self-Management Resolution

LD042035 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Polish Solidarity trade union congress today adopted an important resolution. The resolution defines the union's stand on self-management and the law on enterprises and the law on workers' councils.

In the resolution, the Solidarity congress does not reject the two laws recently passed by the Sejm but does set out that Solidairty will organize in enterprises a referendum on the two laws' provisions which, as the resolution states, are "drastically" in contrast with the union's stand and with authentic self-management.

The five-point Solidarity congress resolution also puts forth demands whose fulfilment, as stated, is to contribute to improving workers legislation in Poland. The resolution primarily seeks the insurance of the work collectives' full participation in the management of enterprises and the solution of all basic workers' problems. It also seeks that the commissions electing enterprise directors be appointed by workers' council and that the list be drawn up of enterprises whose directors are to be appointed by the authorities.

In the struggle for self-management, Solidarity will continue acting in keeping with the will of the work collectives and will do everything it can to enable the collectives' successful struggle for authentic self-management, the congress resolution states.

VRHOVEC'S ACTIVITIES AT UNGA SESSION REPORTED

Meets With Kittani, Others

LD031040 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec and President of the UN General Assembly session for this year Ismat Kittani pointed out in their talk here in UN headquarters yesterday the great importance of the UN for solving major political problems burdening the present-day world.

Vrhovec and Kittani particularly stressed the decisive role of the non-aligned countries in the struggle for new international political and economic relations.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary also had separate meetings in UN headquarters with Foreign Ministers Stefan Andrei of Romania, Beji Caid es-Sebsi of Tunisia and Agha Shahi of Pakistan, with whom he exchanged views on topical international problems and bilateral relations.

Talk With Journalists

LD042104 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1518 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] New York, 4 Oct (TANJUG) -- At the end of his participation in this year's work of the UN General Assembly, Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, had a meeting with Yugoslav journalists who report from the United Nations. In the course of a conversation lasting 1 and 1/2 hours, the federal secretary assessed the progress of this year's session and replied to several questions relating to the activities of the nonaligned countries and Yugoslavia's foreign policy.

Until now such resolve and readiness has never been expressed by peoples to do the maximum to improve the international situation and to realize those aims of international life for which the majority of the contemporary world is fighting, especially the Nonaligned Movement, Josip Vrhovec said, appraising the times in which we are living. In this connection he recalled that the main issues which were discussed at the nonaligned ministerial meetings had been a discussion of the general world situation, the crisis which is burdening the world, including both the causes and solutions to these crises, as well as other long-term world problems, issues of disarmament, development and so forth.

Referring to the question of the United Nation's effectiveness, Vrhovec presented the well-known position of Yugoslavia's efforts to make this body as effective as possible. This body's political activity is irreplaceable and [words indistinct] these results which it achieved, Vrhovec said, adding that it expresses the (?united) resolve of the world not to go on living in the old way.

It is well known that the issue of Namibia was one of the key issues at this year's UN General Assembly session. In this connection, Vrhovec mentioned the efforts of the "group of five" aimed at working out a new concept to solve the Namibian problem in accordance with the UN resolution, and he assessed this as a favorable indication and sign of [word indistinct] of this crisis. However, it is quite certain, Vrhovec emphasized, that the essence lies in the fact that world public opinion, the members of the world organization and the Nonaligned Movement are doing the maximum to strengthen political pressure and are strengthening their political and every other kind of support to the peoples of Namibia in favor of a successful outcome to this national liberation struggle. The most specific contribution would be if the other side, which has been behaving very aggressively and crudely, understood that this cannot continue and that it should finally accept a solution which will be in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter.

Replying to a question about the efforts of the nonaligned countries to solve the problem of disarmament, the federal secretary said that the very issue of disarmament was present at this year's session as a general issue for the world, but at the same time as one of those most sensitive areas of relations between bloc organizations and the big powers. On this occasion, Vrhovec underlined the significance of the need for balance as a prerequisite for security in the world, but he also underlined the need to do everything possible in order for this to be implemented at the lowest possible levels, and not at the highest ones. This means, that we need to stop this senseless and foolish race, Vrhovec emphasized.

As regards a start to global negotiations, Vrhovec said that restrictions were still present in this field, for some countries do not want to accept this. He recalled that this will also be discussed in Cancun, which will naturally provide a positive stimulus in order that later, in the course of this session, one might reach a decision to open up these negotiations. This still does not mean the resolution of things, but only the start of a discussion on resolving them, he said.

At the meeting of ministers from nonaligned countries in New York this year the federal secretary advocated the speeding up of the commission to prepare a document on the resolution of disputes between nonaligned countries. In conversation with the Yugoslav journalists Vrhovec also said that the issue of the peaceful resolution of disputes between nonaligned countries is very significant for internal relations, unity, solidarity and action capability in the movement. He also recalled that President Tito himself had been personally involved in this issue for a long time, but that progress was slow but constant. He said that there are still quite a few differences between nonaligned countries on this issue, since some nonaligned countries, for their own particular reasons, are not really pleased that a strong and effective mechanism is being worked out which would act to prevent these disputes and to solve them more quickly. Emphasizing the need to create such a mechanism, Vrhovec said that the formation of a group which would take account of all the existing proposals was welcomed and accepted at the meeting of ministers from nonaligned countries.

The federal secretary went on to characterize the atmosphere at this year's UN General Assembly session as constructive, and said that this had also been a feature of the freer approach and explanation of what is happening in the world, even in the context of bloc structures. As regards certain differences in rhetoric on economic issues between the developed countries, Vrhovec (?said) that the desire and need to change economic relations in the world had dominated the speeches of the majority at this year's general assembly session. The political strategy of the struggle for a new international economic order is very developed and definite, he said, but this in no way means that those holding different views, those who want to continue to (?defend) an old privileged order, will therefore give in as soon as a quite clearly defined strategy for a new order has been formed. Moreover, Vrhovec said, we must now continue to expect confrontation, although the voice of reason and realism was heard from speakers from the most industrially developed countries, regardless of the fact that in the context of this they want to defend their own positions, for theyunderstood that there must be a change.

Replying to a question about his meetings with a large number of ministers of foreign affairs, Vrhovec said that they had been significant and useful.

As is well known, meetings took place between U.S. Secretary of State Haig and Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Gromyko during the course of this year's session. In this connection, Vrhovec said that these meetings had evoked great interest in the world organization in view of the fact that both the Nonaligned Movement and the large majority of the whole world believe that relations between existing bloc grouping and big powers are essential for the general state of world relations. Their responsibilities in this are very great, for their relations have quite an effect on the world situation. At the same time, we do not think that these relations represent the world as it is, for the world is much more diverse and the whole of the world community has vital interests in this world and wants to take a direct part in the resolution of vital issues and problems. However, the very fact that Haig and Gromyko met was accepted as something positive. Although both sides were quite firm in setting out their initial positions, it is significant that both sides, in almost the same vocabulary, expressed readiness for and interest in dialogue, as well as their wish for this dialogue to be of a business-like nature.

Emphasizing the significance of these talks and the agreement to hold future talks in Geneva and a dialogue at the start of next year, Vrhovec emphasized that their starting positions had demonstrated the extent to which they differed deeply in their assessment of all essential relations in the world, as well as of their own mutual relations and the causes of bad relations, but at the same time they also demonstrated both sides' realization that they must continue their dialogue in order to attempt to find a solution which would save the world from the worst.

Replying to a question about his meetings with Haig and Gromyko, Vrhovec emphasized that Yugoslav policy is well known, and that our principles are quite clear. He added that we have always emphasized and advocated the seeking of joint solutions, regardless of the degree of seriousness of crises and problems, but without sacrificing basic principles without which it is impossible to imagine the world. As regards the issue of the continuation of the work of the Madrid CSCE meeting, Vrhovec said that Yugoslavia would continue to play a very active role in order for this meeting to end successfully.

On the occasion of this meeting there was also discussion of the situation in the Balkans. In this connection Vrhovec said that today in the Balkans essentially positive tendencies to develop goodneighborly relations were present, and that this had been present in the speeches by representatives of all the Balkan countries. This is a very significant and positive result, Vrhovec emphasized. In this context he said that Yugoslavia has very developed relations with all its neighbors in the Balkans, despite certain problems with Bulgaria and Albania.

In reply to a question on the Middle East crisis, Vrhovec assessed that at this time this is perhaps the deepest and most dangerous crisis, above all because of Israel's aggressive behavior. In this connection Vrhovec said that this year's session had given strong support to the Arabs' struggle to live in peace and security, just as on this occasion too, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and their own state, and the PLO as their sole representative, had been confirmed. The majority of speakers also confirmed the general principles of the right of all peoples and countries in that region to security, which Vrhovec also appraised as very significant.

At the end of the conversation, a question was put to the federal secretary on the institution of the veto in the Security Council. As a principle it is outside our time, Josip Vrhovec concluded, but as a practice it is deeply in the spirit of our time.

Vrhovec Returns From Session

LD031140 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who attended the UN General Assembly, arrived today in Zagreb from New York. At the Zagreb airport Josip Vrhovec was welcomed by Aleksandar Broz, deputy chairman of the republican committee for relations with foreign countries, and other personalities.

KOSTIC MEETS U.S. TREASURY SECRETARY REGAN

AU011822 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Washington, 29 Sep (TANJUG) -- Petar Kostic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for finance, met with Donald Regan, U.S. secretary of the treasury, in Washington yesterday. During the talk the opportunitites for further promoting the economic cooperation between the two countries in the field of commodity exchange, joint ventures and industrial cooperation were discussed.

Views were also exchanged on financial cooperation between the two countries, and in this connection Regan, U.S. secretary of the treasury, supported measures taken to implement economic stabilization in the SFRY.

Issues were also discussed which will be brought up at the annual assembly of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund [IMF], particularly the situation in the International Development Association (IDA), the problem of the so-called IMF "special drawing rights" and so forth.

Dr Ksente Bogoev, governor of the SFRY national bank, and Budimir Loncar, SFRY ambassador to the United States, participated in the talks.

On behalf of the Federal Executive Council, the federal secretary for finance, Kostic, invited U.S. secretary of the treasury Regan to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

MILOS MINIC HOLDS TALKS WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR

AU012112 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, has received David Anderson, U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia. They discussed cooperation between the two countries as well as issues of international relations.

BULGARIAN PAPER'S 'ANTI-YUGOSLAV' COMMENTARY NOTED

LD041912 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Bulgarian paper PIRINSKO DELO of Blagoevgrad, the heart of Pirin Macedonia, has published an anti-Yugoslav commentary. The commentary has been prompted by the cancellation of several Yugoslav-Bulgarian border festivals, for which the paper blames "some circles in Yugoslavia."

PIRINSKO DELO, however, does not state the real reasons for the cancelling of last months's festivals at Simitli and Sandanski in Bulgaria and of today's border festival at Strumica, Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Yugoslavia cancelled all three festivals because Bulgarian representatives had attempted to use the festivals, originally introducec to promote good-neighbour and closer contacts between the border population, for political ends, that is, for putting forth the well-known Greater Bulgaria stands on Macedonia and the Macedonian nation.

Virtually all political, economic, cultural, sports and other events held this year in Bulgaria were used to mark the 13th centenary of the Bulgarian state.

The Bulgarian organizers had planned to use also the called off border festivals at Simitli and Sandanski for observing the centenary and glorifying the Greater Bulgarian stands on Macedonia and Yugoslavia.

NEW BILL ON ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE IN PREPARATION

AU011823 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2201 17 Sep 81 p 2

[Bramil Slavetic article: "New Legal Foundations of Defense"]

[Text] A proposal to adopt a bill on all-people's defense will be submitted shortly to the delegates of the federal chamber of the SFRY assembly.

The document has in fact reached the highest delegate body. It has been prepared by the Federal Executive Council and submitted for examination and adoption. If everything runs according to the "timetable," the rights, obligations and powers of all the personnel in all-people's defense and social self-protection will be determined and reciprocally harmonized in a new way, even better than hitherto.

The question which arises first is why a new law, when great results in strengthening the defensive power of the country have been achieved on the basis of the present law, as it has been stressed several times during assessments of social development. The present law on national defense came into force on 12 May 1974 and has constituted a solid political and legal foundation for the development, organization and preparation of the overall system of all-people's defense. Nobody disputes that.

However, some things have changed in these 7 years. Some questions have arisen to which proper answers must be given, and the present law is not able to do it. Secondly, the 11th LCY congress indicated the directions of further development of all-people's defense and the building of its system. These must be delineated with legal norms.

One of these directions, which appears to be the main one, is the need to tie the all-people's defense and social self-protection more closely into a unified defense-protection mechanism. The aim is to forestall any danger threatening the country. If a crisis nevertheless occurs, the forces of socialist self-managing society will be so organized, trained and prepared as to overcome it quickly. In addition to self-protection, which is organized on the broadest social foundations and whose elements will be built into the new law, the new law here counts upon the organized forces of all-people's defense, starting with the Yugoslav people's army, territorial defense and civil defense.

On the other hand, it has been shown to be necessary to more strongly express the constitutional role of the LCY and its historical responsibility for the protection of the revolutionary achievements of our struggle. The same applies to the role of other organized socialist forces in our society. The proposed bill also indicates the way in which the party will implement its role in the strengthening of the defense-protection mechanism of the country. Apart from the direct activities of its members, organizations and leaderships. The LCY acts through the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection. These important operative political and leading bodies directing and coordinating defense measures and activities have asserted themselves and should be included in the law.

The year before last [as published] we lost our president of the republic. The SFRY Presidency has since then carried out its constitutional rights and obligations, and it is necessary that in this connection some of the provisions of the present national defense law be changed. Numerous laws regulating our system adopted since 1974 also demand that the national defense law provisions be harmonized with them. Finally, there is practical work. During the 7 years of implementing the existing law, the need has been shown several times for some provisions to be supplemented, defined more precisely and harmonized with the level of development of socialist self-managing society.

All in all, conditions for adopting a new law have "ripened." The new legal foundations for struggle and all-people's resistance under all the conditions in which Yugoslavia may find itself will occasion amendments or adoptions of new laws on all-people's defense in the republics and provinces too. It is up to the delegate assemblies not only to harmonize these normative legal acts with the present level of our society's development, but also to turn their eyes to the future.

REPORT ON SAWPY FEDERAL CONFERENCE SESSION

Discussion of Delegates

LD021744 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 2 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG) -- The SAWPY Federal Conference today discusses the tasks of the socialist alliance in holding the delegate elections in 1982. The election of the president of the Yugoslav Conference for Social Activities is also on the agenda. The session was opened by Kolj Siroka, and there was a minute's silence in honor of socialist alliance members who died since the last session.

The introductory report on the socialist alliance's tasks relating to the elections was submitted by Kolj Siroka.

The first participant in the discussion, after the introductory report, was Marin Cetinic. He spoke about the significance of cadre policy in the forthcoming elections and the innovations which have been introduced into the proposed social agreement on cadre policy in the federation, the signing of which is expected in October.

Proceeding from the statement that the socialist alliance is still not playing a sufficient part in developing the debate system, Milan Rakas raised the question of whether this is discussed sufficiently in organizations, from the local communities up to the federation.

Rakas quoted as particularly harmful the increasingly "isolated" agreement-making and agreement'seeking, which takes place within executive organs of municipalities, republics and provinces. Such a method of work has not produced the results expected, and there have also been attempts to replace agreement-making with laws. Such attempts should be defeated most forcefully for they are aimed directly against our delegate system. Rakas then pointed to attempts to impose the view that the delegate system, because of its lack of effectiveness, should be replaced by some other system, although we have not even developed this one.

Rakas also devoted part of his speech to the link between delegates, which in many environments is not good. Thus, we must devote special attention to the cadre issue for only in this way can we eliminate all these and other weaknesses which are preventing the better functioning of the delegate system.

In preparations for the forthcoming elections unequivocal and clear replies must be given to why the delegates and delegate bodies have remained in the shadow of executive and administrative organs. Why have these organs not been oriented to the delegate structure fully, Mito Dimitrievski emphasized. Today it is important, he assessed, to establish also why the link between the delegates, delegation and grass roots has not been functioning according to the constitutional principle. Why in practice has an increasingly heavy bureaucracy imposed its system of bureaucracy on the self-management system, in opposition to the interests of the working class?

Special attention should be devoted to these, the third, elections since the adoption of the 1974 Constitution. There are many reasons for this, but the basic one is the fact that the delegate system has already affirmed itself and the possibilities have been created for the full manifestation of self-management interests and their coordination. Really, Ferhat Kotoric said, the forthcoming elections need to be a verification of our orientation toward the pluralism of self-management interests as a new form of democratization of the political system.

Delegate Zika Radojolvic emphasized that the time when the elections are held will be characterized by the wide-ranging activity of all factors in the struggle for economic stabilization. He supported the view that in preparations for the elections it is especially significant that criteria should be set out as precisely as possible in order that the most capable people are affirmed.

Election activity should be organized in harmony with efforts to carry out the aims of economic stabilization and the standpoints of the resolution from the Third Congress of Self-Managers, Dr Bozo Tadic said, presenting the view and standpoints of the Presidium of the Council of the Conferation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Elections, he added, are an opportunity to sharpen responsibility and he emphasized that this is an essential need in our society.

Analysis of the process of delegate decision-making demonstrates that the delegations are to a large extent alienated from it, so that there exist two mutually independent levels of decision-making, one in self-management organs and the other in the delegate bodies. Tadic cited facts in this connection which illustrate the insufficient participation of associated labor, especially of production workers. Instead of growing, their participation in delegate bodies fell considerably in 1978 compared with 1974, and there are increasingly fewer worker delegates from the municipal assemblies up to the Federal Assembly. This tendency, according to Tadic, must be ended in this round of elections.

The representative Presidium of the Council of the Conferation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia then pointed to resistance and lack of understanding in the implementation of Tito's initiative on collective work, decision-making and responsibility, mentioning that in individual environments the same people rotate constantly, which devalues the essence of the intiative directly.

Urginging a critical study of the problems, Ismail Berisa said that the division into those who work and those who manage has not yet been overcome in society. This means, Berisa said, that we have not yet ensured that work manages society. He emphasized in this connection that the working man and not the citizen-voter should be the starting point of the delegate system.

Speaking about irresponsibility in the delegate system, Berisa said that he has not yet heard about any delegates or delegations being recalled. The complex procedure about the recall contributes a great deal to this, Berisa asserted. He urged greater changeability of delegates.

Ela Ulrih-Atena pointed to the need for a change in the way the policy and measures of economic stabilizations are being carried out, as well as to the danger that because of the need for administrative measures the convictions about the need to increase the role of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus could also sent in. We must resolutely settle accounts with such ideas and their protagonists because the present difficulties are due to the excessive use of administrative methods.

Pointing out that public and political life are overburdened and saturated by the description of the situation in which we find ourselves and that the submission of "shocking data" has already become a rule, Muharem Adanalic expressed the view that this can only cause harm unless accompanied by action which offers ways of overcoming this situation. It is necessary, therefore, he said, to see what the socialist alliance can do about this in its preelection activity. Adanalic therefore urged that the priority tasks of the socialist alliance should include helping associated labor to manage the entire income, the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization in every local community and the achievement of concrete responsibility at all leveis. The criterion for the election of candidates at the forthcoming elections, he said, should be the attitude of each candidate toward the tasks of economic stabilization and his ability to carry out these tasks on self-managing bases.

Jan Sirka, representative of the working group for the preparation of the text of the socialist alliance's tasks, proposed that this text should be complemented and improved in keeping with the proposals and suggestions made at the session.

Risto Dzunov proposed that this document should put greater emphasis on the representation of direct producers, women and youth, at the forthcoming elections. He also proposed that the working group should send the improved text of the tasks to the republics and provinces for verification, so that the Presidium of this forum can make a decision after study all stances.

The proposal by Kolj Siroka, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, that the final elaboration of these tasks be completed within the next 10 days, so that the next SAWPY Conference session can adopt the final text of this document, was adopted.

Today's session of the SAWPY Conference elected Dr Berislav Sefer as president of the Yugoslav Conference for Social Activities as the 4-year mandate of the incumbent president, Iao Njegovan, expired. This proposal by the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Croatia was supported by all republican and provincial conferences of the SAWP and the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

Siroka Address

AU022054 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Report on speech by Kolj Siroka, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference in Belgrade on 2 October -- with recorded excerpts]

[Text] We are embarking on the coming elections, the third since the adoption of the new Constitution, firmly resolved to continue along Tito's road and to persevere in implementing his revolutionary messages, Kolj Siroka, president of the Federal Conference, stressed at the beginning of his speech. About 2.5 million working people have been elected to delegations and delegate assemblies at each turn. The great results, as well as serious shortcomings and difficulties, Siroka added, have shown how important it is to work persistently on building further the conditions for the working man to be able to exercise in a united and organized way where he lives and works his full influence on social decisions and to control effectively their implementation.

It was in fact been shown that there is no progress unless the position of workers in decisionmaking on income and all the elements of business operations is constantly enhanced.

The president of the Federal Conference also presented the experiences of the past period. He pointed out that the delegate system in itself does not ensure a development of socialist self-management. He went on to say:

[Begin recording] We see that when the action of subjective forces is lacking, egoistic, group-property, local and regional interests, as well as various techno-bureaucratic and similar monopolies push to the fore even through the delegate system and try to impose and present themselves as self-managing and general social interests. Such occurrences as well as similar ones which we shall continue to meet in the future indicate the full importance of the working people as an organized social force, in the building of the delegate system; or rather they indicate the importance of the overall work of sociopolitical organizations headed by the LCY in developing their activities.

The difficulties and shortcomings will be more rapidly overcome and resistance will be broken if wide activities are developing everywhere in the socialist alliance and if the democratically agreed positions are built daily into delegate decisionmaking, from the grassroots up to all the delegate assemblies. [end recording]

Kolj Siroka signled out inconsistency and slowness in implementing the decisions and positions adopted, and the absence of measures and actions to realize them, as the greatest shortcomings in society and in the delegate system in the past period. He added the weak executive mechanisms as one of the disturbances in the development of society and the delegate system.

Kolj Siroka devoted part of his speech to the implementation of the principles of collective work and responsibility in all the delegate bodies. He remarked that in addition to significant successes one can find some shortcomings in this field, too. Now we have an opportunity to assess to what extent the cadres we have elected have met the requirements, Kolj Siroka stressed, and added:

[begin recording] In many communities, the SAWP as the broadest political organization, and the trade unions as an organization of the workers class have been conducting political actions in supplementing and expanding the register of cadres who come into consideration for nominations at the coming elections. This is a very important part of sociopolitical activities in which the working people and citizens assess how various social bodies and organs have been working and how one can ensure that better work will be done.

It is important to see on that occasion who the new people are, particularly in the ranks of workers, youths and women, who with their overall self-managing and social activities have shown themselves to be resolute and conscious fighters for what is new and better. We should resolutely strive for the democratic principle of nominating several candidates for all social functions, and in the early nomination procedure we should apply this principle as widely as possible. it will then be easier to make the best selection when nomination lists are drafted. [end recording]

The strivings and occurrences to impose candidates on the working people and citizens have not been overcome. We must oppose such behavior even now, at the very beginning of election preparations. All the SAWP organizations and their leadership, from the local community up to the federation, are expected to be as efficient as possible in coordinating the activities of all the socialist forces and in rallying all the working people and citizens on the forthcoming tasks, Kolj Siroka said.

'NOTHING MUST SURPRISE US' DEFENSE ACTION NOTED

LD042244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Oct (TANJUG) -- In all 14 municipalities of the Slavonija and Baranja region more than 365,000 young people, working people and citizens took part in the 2-day action entitled "Nothing Must Surprise Us." The action involved 667 out of a total of 968 local communities in the region, and 968 out of a total of 1542 organizations of associated labor in Slavonija and Baranja. Also taking party in the action were 40 preschool institutions, 166 basic schools, 24 centers for vocational education and 6 highschool institutions. To all these one has to add the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection, trade union organs and organizations and young people and veterans.

The action was a good test of the level of training, organization and readiness for action in conditions of an all-people's defense war or during serious natural disasters.

During the action a delegation from the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference was visiting the Osijek community of municipalities. Today it visited the municipalities of Donji Miholjac, Podravska Slatina, Orahovica and Nasice. This visit was used for an interrepublican exchange of views, since a similar action has been held in Vojvodina for several years.

ALIMPIC ADDRESSES BACKA PALANKA MEETING

LD031423 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Backa Palanka, 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- A large people's meeting was held today at Backa Palanka in honor of the 40th anniversary of the uprising and revolution of the nations and nationalities of the SFRY and the beginning of the organized youth movement, as well as the activity of the section of the Serbian library, established in 1938, which under the influence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the youth movement played an important part in the dissemination of progressive ideas and the preparation of youth and people for the uprising.

Dusan Alimpic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, recalled that this was the time when the fascist danger and war overshadowed Europe. It was also an especially important time for us because Comrade Tito became the leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which represented a turning point in the work of the party in Yugoslavia and Vojvodina as part of it.

In 1945 the autonomous province chose to become part of democratic federal Serbia, and the Constitution of 1974 determined the new position of the republics and provinces, which mutually cooperate in the economic and political spheres, not only as states and sociopolitical communities but also as self-managing subjects. Their mutual relations are increasingly charcterized by what represents the essence of self-management: freedom, equality, mutual dependence, responsibility and solidarity. The SFRY Constitution and the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina affirmed the historic basis of autonomy and elaborated its constitutive function within the framework of further development of the Yugoslav federalism, its position in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the political system of socialist self-management.

The decentralization of administration, according to Alimpic, deepened the equality in international relations. The independence of republics and provinces was achieved, and this marked their full responsibility for common interests and matters in the federation.

We must strive to improve and perfect the methods of mutual agreement-making in order to coordinate more successfully the interests which will contribute to the consolidation and building of our system. This also demands enhanced vigilance against all phenomena of revival of bureaucratic centralism at all levels, as well as against all tendencies of local isolation ranging from the basic organizations of associated labor to municipalities, the province and the republic, because this obstructs the linking and socialization of production and income, integration and division of labor and causes disruptions on the united market. Any isolation and autarchy hold back self-management, socialist togetherness and responsibility for self-managing associating of labor and resources. The recent counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and the demonstration of nationalism and irredentism are among other things an expression of such tendencies.

This is why it is very important for our society, Alimpic stated, that in our activity to strengthen self-management and democratic relations we also develop the political sense to recognize these tendencies whose aim is to strengthen the municipal, provincial and republican statism, as well as any other statism, which seeks its base and finds the source of its power in the monopoly of representation, especially of the national and regional interests.

The success of the struggle against nationalism and other negative tendencies depended and will always depend on the extent to which we overcome the differences in development, social contradictions and their hotbeds. The extent to which self-management is a comprehensive system of social relations depends on the extent to which the working class manages its income and surplus work and on the way we are organized in a self-managing manner.

COMMENTATOR SEES LCY REVERSE 'DISINTEGRATION'

AU032101 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Olivija Rusovac commentary]

[Text] One need not close one's eyes to the fact that the League of Communists has for some time lacked sufficient strength to oppose more or less open attempts at jeopardizing our togetherness. When the 15th Session of the LCY Central Committee was held several years ago, it was clear that disintegration had reached a high level, and even at that time everything indicated that it was difficult for a pro forma care for unity to become real.

We know what happened. The republics and provinces were closing within their own borders more rapidly than ever, and instructed by the strong example, the regions and communes were following in the same way. The conclusions of the 15th session could not be fully implemented, and the positions on togetherness -- this time much more definitely -- also featured at the recently held session of the LCY Central Committee.

Every member of the League of Communists knows that the proper term exists in the political vocabulary for nonimplementation of conclusions. It is lack of party discipline. But it was shown that the road from the political vocabulary and the party statute to political practice is a winding one. One talked more about democratic centralism than one acted in accordance with it. Thus the hierarchy -- under which we above all understand the logical sequence in rendering accounts and responsibility -- was replaced by a kind of federalism which prevented in advance any attempt to call anybody to responsibility, even responsibility for behavior opposed to the interests of togetherness.

In such a situation, every interest was equally important, and it was only a step from there to intolerance and to disregard for the partners' interests. This step was made.

Whenever politics is a right, duty or privilege of a narrow circle, there can be no proper responsibility. It is replaced by consensus and equilibrium, and very often by strongheadedness and separatism. Without the insight of the public in the affairs which are very much its concern, political leadership is transformed into a hardly accessible political summit.

Our public, tolerant in a way that is rare, did not remain unperceptive of the gross political and economic failures which directly jeopardized our togetherness. It uttered criticism in the way usual of our politics, primarily using the delegate system. But in order to comprehend the critically uttered message, one needs much political sensitivity and not so much political self-assurance. We interpret the latest session of the LCY Central Committee as an endeavor by the political leadership to offer an example and to lead their communities in implementing the conclusions adopted a few days ago.

The first response to the session was heard on the very next day in the shape of new tones of behavior of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly. Togetherness was stressed on that occasion as our highest principle. However, togetherness does not imply agreeing to everything and anything; rather, it implies a strict selection of political and economic priorities in addition to a strict selection of people who will implement this togetherness in the highest forums.

In this way, a new page has been opened in our political and self-managing practice; or, as our people nicely put it, it is necessary to know how to call a spade a spade.

VJESNIK INTERVIEWS SLOVENE SAWP'S RIBICIC

AU021105 Zabreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 Supplement pp 3-4

[Vlado Rajic interview with Mitja Ribicic, president of the Slovene Republican SAWP Conference, for VJESNIK's regular weekly Saturday supplement SEDAM DANA -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Every classification of the press shows different tastes ranking the press in various categories, ranging from variegated to serious, and from "ours" to "yours."

[Answer] I think that the essence of all these remarks is in the concept according to which leaders mu-t appear with their statements only in the organs of the organizations to which they belong, that is, in official forums. This practice is followed nowhere else except in the administrative systems where there is really no press, unless we consider the announcements by leaderships as press. If we want that kind of press, then we must move back a step, at least in our system, in our country where the state and its representatives are not the sole factors expressing what is taking place in the society. In our country we have subjective political factors. True, there is a tendency to separate all the agitation and propaganda media from the delegate system and reduce them to media declaring themselves either "for" or "against."

[Question] Is not the demand for a press that does not gloss over the unpleasant and does not select topics for circulation reasons but because of their objective importance as answer to these pressures?

[Answer] It is a big question whether we must struggle for our policy only with announcements or, more precisely, with statements of official views. What our people primarily expect from office holders is that they say the same thing when they stand behind the rostrum at a public forum as they do when they speak in off-the-record conversations. The people have had enough of the practice whereby the official versions of the economic and political situation have nothing in common with the descriptions of that situation made in off-the-record conversations. All that must be rejected and one must always say what one thinks.

[Question] Many things ranging from the economy and politics to culture and sports show that not only fences but proper chasms exist between the republics and provinces.

[Answer] I think that at this time that is our greatest problem. We are now in a situation in which we need a unified stabilization policy and not have instead each individual republic put forward its own calculations and projections which it then defends at all costs because it thereby also defends what now exists. And what now exists is not good. We also need our common foundations for development but we must reach an agreement on these foundations by self-managing and not administrative means.

[Question] There are so many divisions that are visible even in the smallest examples and thus the only thing left in this connection is the question: What is there that shows our togetherness?

[Answer] We Slovenes call that "grabbing the bull by the horns." And you ask where the bulls are. In my opinion, the bulls are the continuity of the present economic policy, the continuity of unfavorable trends and crises and the continuity of illusions that solutions can be found in international and domestic debts. The only thing on which we reached an agreement within the plan that we now have was that we still have not reached an accord on solving the problems. There were five or six problems at the time of the adoption of the plan have now grown into many more problems. And instead of at least now reaching an accord on the basis of self-management, we are studying the situation and the trends and adopting the administrative measures which cannot change everything.

[Question] Does the problem lie in the fact that we have a continuity of economic policy such as it is now or it is a question of a continuity of always the same distribution of forces in the society?

[Answer] I think that it is precisely this that is involved here, that is, the interests that are national but count on the common policy only for the sake of that policy confirming their own plans and solutions. We would like to implement the stabilization policy but at the same time want to preserve the old relations. For instance, I am absolutely certain that the Federal Executive Council will propose an increase of 45 to 50 percent for the federal budget for next year and that this increase will be adopted because in this way the high federal budget will justify partial interests also. But if we accpet all surpluses in the budget as though they were given to us, then it is clear that there can be no question of any change in relations.

I also want to say that I do not agree with those who claim that our economic situation is catastrophic. I think that the projections made in this connection are exaggerated only to justify administrative interventions.

[Question] We often search for the causes of our difficulties in bureaucracy, which is strange because no one has as yet precisely defined that term.

[Answer] Bureaucracy is something that lives at the expense of the work of someone else. However this must not be confused with administration. At all levels from the work organization to the federation we must have professional organs, the managing and professional services and the people who know the organization and the system. That is what makes the functioning of social and political mechanism possible. If today we asked the self-managers whether they are "in favor" of a "strong" federal government, as the organ of the Delegate Assembly, I think that such a referendum would show that they are all "in favor." But the condition for this vote of confidence would be that the team formed for such a government must correspond to the interests of associated labor of the Yugoslav economy and not to the interests of the individual republics and regions or even narrower interests.

Slovene Counteraction

[Question] It happens at times that the public statements by leaders at the republican level, that is, especially by cadres from Slovenia are interpreted as "the Slovene counteraction" or "opposition," if you wish, against other republics and provinces.

[Answer] The fact alone that the views are identified and called Slovene, Bosnian, Montenegrin and so forth shows how far we have come in our division. I think that this is not good. If a certain view is presented by Slovenia, then it is necessary to see whether it is good and whether there is a place for it in the general Yugoslav trends and interests and to believe that it had been formed as a result of critical discussions within the republic. I think that it is bad if the matters become radicalized to such an extent at republican level because then, when it comes to decisionmaking at the federal level, there is nothing else left except to count the votes as seven to one, five to three or four to four and so forth. This shows that something is wrong and also indicates what is really involved. Slovenia must seek Yugoslav solutions for Slovene problems.

[Question] This is not the only criticism of the Slovenes. In some communities, the statements by Slovene leaders are appraised as "Slovene radicalism" because of their sharpness, precision and candidness.

[Answer] Although I am not familiar with all the arguments presented by these critics, I can say that they are right whenever an attempt is made to present the Slovene policy as the only answer to all issues in Yugoslavia. The criticism is correct because it is necessary to take into account the Yugoslav policy as the framework within which the Slovene ideas must be tested. It must not be forgotten that other republics and provinces also advance their own arguments within that frmaework. And it is known that everyone defends his own. That is reality.

[Question] Do you also have in mind Kosovo and the actions to crush the counterrevolution?

[Answer] I think that the Kosovo events are nothing special in our society. Their specific characteristic lies in the fact that the mother nation of that people [the Albanians in Kosovo] lives in another state and that that state follows a policy which we know what kind it is. The excesses in Kosovo and the spirit of nationalist euphoria there are a consequence of the practice of building one's own development on credits and funds instead of on the basis of one's own work, self-management and on a democratic, popular and humanist mobilization of one's own forces for the self-managing policy. Kosovo is the strongest confirmation of the fact that the nationalist passions are our greatest evil and that these passions developed there because there was no ideologically strong party, no broad socialist alliance and other progressive forces. They did not exist beyond the asphalt because the leaders' "Mercedes" do not travel on "macadam". And it was in that "macadam" area where the nationalist euphoria penetrated and created the prerequisites for counterrevolution. It is precisely because of that vacuum which the enemy filled that Kosovo is an economic, political and self-managing problem and not a matter for the courts and prosecutors.

Wrong Picture

[Question] I do not understand.

[Answer] You see, the statehood of the provinces is an artificial problem created by a slogan in Kosovo. This fact reflects a low political awareness and ignorance about the law, history and the constitution. That is why I think that an 18-year old boy there who knows nothing and who thinks that the slogan "we want a republic" is some kind of radicalism should not be sentenced to a 12-year prison term. It would be better to explain certain things to him and to influence him by other, mainly educational means. As it is, a wrong picture, in which he appears as a hero, will be formed in his young head, which holds no other facts except the fact that he must now spend so many years in prison. Following this logic, I ask what sentence should be given to the one who had crammed all those lies into the boy's head. I am not in favor of this judicial-administrative approach; political methods are more effective. There is little to be achieved by imposing sentences.

[Question] I know that on one occasion it was in connection with Vojvodina that you mentioned some phenomena similar to those in Kosovo.

[Answer] I was immediately reproached for that but I did not have in mind the Kosovo version of republicanism but a republicanism in relations. What is involved here is the functioning of the self-managing system within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the processes outside that system. I think that these tendencies exist and can be proved although the first reactions indicate that what is involved is an excessive sensitivity toward that topic. However, sensitivity is understandable; it is also present in Slovenia whenever it is said that we follow a separatist policy.

[Question] Now, at the beginning of preparations for the 12th LCY Congress we should discuss the morals and ethics and their incorporation into the relations or in some other way. Will it be enough to discuss and make conclusions about all that only within the framework of congress activities?

[Answer] It will be enough provided that in our self-managing system we achieve a real interdependence between work and income. The responsibility of the worker at his work place has weakened and the worker is not interested in his work because he can earn more outside his work place. This shows that the worker's feeling that the factory is his, that the collective is his and that the machine which is his has been weakened. The worker does not feel that the entire development depends on him and that his function within the system is important. This is why he is slapdash in his work.

[Question] Thus, you are equating the crisis of work and the crisis of morals?

[Answer] Yes, because after all: What is morality in our society? Morality is to live from one's own work.

That is socialism in practice. I think that the Slovene people live quite well from their work. But that work is exploited if its results are used to cover up the poor work of someone else.

[Question] The issue of morals has been discussed for a long time now. It was discussed at the 13th and the 15th sessions of the LCY Central Committee but nothing has been done beyond that and there has been no social action. Why is there silence about morals?

[Answer] It would be too simple to say that a crisis of morals within the League of Communists must be blamed for all. Perhaps the League of Communists is the first target in this connection not because it may be directly responsible for certain failures but because it has failed to create the conditions for implementing what we adopted. I think that the latest attempts to blame the party for everything logically pushes the delegate assemblies and the self-management to the sidelines. The party is used as a cover for everything. Thus, in Slovenia the Republican Executive Council makes greater efforts to bring matters before the Presidium of the League of Communists than to present them to the Slovene Assembly. The same thing is happening at the federal level.

Today the question of morals is the question of work and self-management. After Tito we were too slow in organizing ourselves for collective and joint work to perfect the political system of self-management.

[Question] There are many facts showing that self-management is becoming a world process despite the many difficulties in its assertion.

[Answer] You see, the demand for self-management in Poland is one of the most important demands made there. If they demand that from their party, then that demand is not aimed against the PZPR but against the monopoly in the economic life. No one can prevent 9 million Polish workers from deciding that through a referendum. Self-management is also making a breakthrough in China. Our people who visited that country say that what is involved there is a completely objective process. Furthermore, the social democrats, eurocommunism and Western communist parties are also pointing to self-management as a normal step beyond the workers' participation. Let me not list all the examples but in this situation Yugoslavia must pass the test of its own idea. We know the entire self-managing organization and the only question left for us to answer is how can all these interests be fused into one. The foreign situation compels us to solve that question.

JAT FACES FUEL SHORTAGES, REDUCTION IN FLIGHTS

LD051730 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Summary] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav airline, JAT, has issued a serious warning that supplies of aviation fuel are being drastically reduced because the suppliers of this fuel are not able to meet their commitments. The result is that the number of flights is being reduced. The situation is the same throughout the country but it is particularly bad in Belgrade because of the number of flights originating from there. JAT has knocked on many doors but has been unable to get any guarantees as to when supplies will be improved. JAT sees no way out of the situation expect by drastically reducing the number of flights, with all the economic consequences which will become inevitable. Recently, the airline received only 10 percent of its aviation fuel supplies. For the time being, flight reductions mostly affect regular domestic flights. International flights are being diverted to allow aircraft to refuel abroad. Today, flights to Tivat, Pristina and one flight to Zabreb were canceled. One flight to New York was diverted via Zurich to enable the plane to obtain fuel there.

KOSOVO LC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS

LD032324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina, 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- At today's session chaired by Veli Deva, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists reviewed, in accordance with the conclusions of the 21st LCY Central Committee session, the immediate ideopolitical and other tasks of the Kosovo League of Communists and other subjective forces to overcome the difficulties in the economy and to realize economic stability. The introductory report was delivered by Predrag Cuckic, member of the Presidium.

It is reported that stress was laid at the session on the fact that the major questions, the resolution of which must be started in every environment, are to undertake the necessary measures to increase labor productivity and the physical volume of output and exports, and to reduce imports, to solve the problem of non-liquidity, to reduce consumption to within realistic levels, to remove the numerous subjective weaknesses, to strengthen responsibility for the fulfillment of the set tasks, and to adopt the plan for the province's socioeconomic development.

Attention was drawn in particular to the importance of ideo-political and direct involvement of the League of Communists in mobilizing increased activity on the part of working people, sociopolitical organizations, self-management organs and other organs to bring home the complexity of the situation, and to ensure full mobilization to overcome the difficulties facing the economy and social activities in the province.

The Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee concluded that all factors in the province, municipalities and basic organizations of associated labor must draw up programs of measures to resolve the specific problems which are the key ones in stabilizing the state of affairs in all environments.

DRAGASI COMMUNAL CONFERENCE PRESIDENCY MEETS

AU041619 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] The assessment of the political-security situation in the Dragsai commune and the tasks of the SAWP in the further struggle against hostile and counterrevolutionary forces and the full stabilization of the political situation in the commune was the theme of today's extended meeting of the communal conference's presidency. Also taking part in this meeting was Predraq Cuckic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo League of Communists.

It was emphasized that in some SAWP associations an insufficient [word indistinct] was noticed in carrying out tasks in the sphere of social self-defense and [words indistinct] hostile slogans were still appearing. The Presidency of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation today informed its members of the list of those who participated in the demonstrations and relieved from his duties (Xhafer Estrefi), secretary of the Communal Conference and member of its Presidency, for insufficient (?action) and a passive attitude toward carrying out ideopolitical differentiation.

PRISTINA'S GASI ON ACTION AGAINST ENEMY ACTIVITY

LD021924 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina, 2 Oct (TANJUG) -- Nabi Gasi, president of the Pristina Municipal Conference, and a group of members of the Municipal Committee expressed the view in a conversation with newsmen that the League of Communists of Pristina and all the organized socialist forces in the municipality are waging an uncompromising struggle against the exponents from the enemy positions favoring Albanian nationalism and irredentism and for the stabilization of the political-security situation.

They stressed that the League of Communists' activity during the months following the outbreak of the enemy and counterrevolutionary demonstrations have yielded positive results which are reflected in the energetic manner of dealing with the enemy forces during the preparations for and in the normal work of schools and faculties, in the normal functioning of cultural, sporting and other public manifestation and in the total stabilization of the situation in the municipality.

However, they stressed that the enemy activity has not been completely suppressed and that it still manifests itself sporadically in the form of slogan writing, appearance of pamphlets and other forms of activity. Phenomena of this kind were energetically uncovered by the League of Communists and the organs of the security service, and were nipped in the bud and the appropriate measures were taken against their exponents.

Illustrating these statements, Nebi Gasi said that two nationalist excesses were recorded in Pristina over the past few days and that their protagonists have been found and will be given exemplary punishment.

A few days ago there was a conflict between pupils of Serbian and Albanian nationalities in the newly-opened school in the Suncani Breg settlement and after an inquiry into the circumstances it was established that it was caused by a bully, who has been identified and caught.

The second case took place in the "19 November" secondary education center when there was no teaching in a class owing to a change of program. On this occasion a boy, accompanied by three girls, began to sing nationalist songs and when the teacher intervened the boy displayed an enemy attitude. The school's authorities proposed that he should be expelled from the school and the girls punished with a last warning before expulsion and that the head of this school in Pristina dismissed for incompetence.

Social self-protection organs have also uncovered two groups which had been writing enemy slogans and which will be of significance in uncovering other exponents of enemy activities as well.

According to what was stressed in the Pristina League of Communists Municipal Conference, an even more uncompromising struggle will be waged in future against all the exponents of enemy activities from the positions favoring Albanian nationalism and irredentism and against those who wish to create a climate of uncertainty and mistrust between the nations and nationalities living here. Greater responsiblity will be placed on communists, self-managing organs and all other organs and organizations in the municipality in the struggle for the complete stabilization of the situation. In this context Pristina communists will also have to involve themselves still more consistently in the efforts made to stabilize the economic situation, which likewise is complex, and eliminate all anomalies and negative phenomena which accompany life and work in this, the most populous municipality of the province.

In this general battle fought by the League of Communists and all organized forces there will be no room, it was stated, for those whose behavior is liberalist and opportunist and who fail to come to grips with problems and phenomena.

Nabi Gasi, president of the municipal conference, mentioned the need to reorganize the League of Communists of Pristina in view of the fact that the present forms of action and organizational activity had failed to prove themselves sufficiently effective in a number of environments.

SARAJEVO RADIO TO START EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAM

LD021542 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Summary] Sarajevo, 2 Oct (TANJUG) -- Radio Sarajevo starts its experimental night program on 3 October. For the next few months the station will transmit through the night between Friday and Sunday, with music, special programs and news bulletins on the hour.

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL ON COOPERATION WITH TIRANA

LD292212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 29 Sep 81

[Text] Pristina, 29 Sep (TANJUG) -- The Council of the University of Kosovo in Pristina has discussed cooperation up to now between this institution and universities at home and abroad, with particular reference to cooperation with the State University of Tirana. The Council accepted a critical assessment of this cooperation which was submitted by a working group, which also submitted recommendations on further development and emphasized that cooperation with Tirana University must be assessed in an even more complex and critical way, with certain lessons to be drawn from this.

In the discussion it was said that in the course of 10 years of cooperation between Pristina University and the State University of Tirana serious weaknesses were manifested which were abused by the other side. Although the cooperation took place on the basis of established programs and protocols, in the practical realization of cooperation between Pristina University and Tirana University omissions occurred which relate primarily to insufficient organization, selectivity of content, lack of criticism and excesses of certain aspects of this cooperation. Real reciprocity was not always evident in the cooperation and, therefore, there was insufficient vigilance and a lack of involvement by Pristina University teachers. While, for example, professors from Tirana were prompt in coming to Pristina and teaching there, and the Albanian side was very sure to send those teachers which were suitable for its moral and political system, some of the Pristina professors who went to Tirana were of suspect political suitability.

Omissions were made in preparing especially the young teaching cadres who went to Albania, and there were instances of unseemly behavior, while suitable measures were not taken against them later.

The behavior of university teachers from Albania during their stay in Kosovo was judged to be correct in general. However, it was stated that some of them propagated their country's ideology and presented books to faculties or to individuals at Pristina University and created other disturbances. Unfortunately, there was no reaction to such behavior by the teachers from Tirana, but there were instances of laxity and ingratiation by the Pristina teachers. This is also reflected in the choice of topics for individual free lectures. The teachers from Albania, let us say, insisted on more topical sociopolitical topics through which they were able to propagate their ideology, while the Pristina teachers in Albania worked mainly on neutral, purely scientific topics.

Pristina University tried to get Tirana to expand cooperation to other university centers in Yugoslavia, and some prominent Yugoslav professors held lectures in Tirana. But Tirana's desire to concentrate cooperation in Pristina alone was clearly evident. This desire was not even recognized in Pristina in time or assessed critically as to what it was leading, and in this way nationalistic indoctrination of some of the students in Kosovo took place.

At today's session it was assessed that the delegates should view this university's international cooperation in a more complex way. However, as Drita Dobrosi, vice president of the Kosovo Assembly judged in the discussion, they mainly remained passive when very important issues relating to this institution's activity had been discussed and assessed critically.

Drita Dobrosi recalled that the material on cooperation between Pristina and Tirana Universities should articulate critical assessments, primarily of the faculties, which were direct exponents of cooperation with relevant higher education institutions in Albania.

However, there is little meaningful analysis of cooperation in the assessments submitted by the faculties, for they present the information mechanically, in an administrative way, with statistics that do not mean much.

Drita Dobrosi warned that in assessing cooperation with Tirana University one should bear in mind that we were working with a partner which for more than 30 years had waged an anti-Yugoslav campaign continually and openly, sometimes loudly and sometimes more quietly. Pointing to efforts to expand Albania's cooperation to other parts of Yugoslavia, Drita Dobrosi said that there has never been a critical analysis of what Albania's insistence on "cooperation with brothers" means and where it leads, and that this is now manifested as open claims to those territories of our country in which Albanians live.

Speaking about the behavior of teachers from Albania, Drita Dobrosi confirmed that some of them behaved correctly, but that one should not lose sight of the fact that some teachers from Tirana carried out their country's policy. They confirmed this themselves in the statements which they make in Albania, although during their stay in Kosovo they spoke in praise of the great transformation of this province of ours.

Dobrosi also recalled the fact that Albania chose the professors and teachers who were to visit from Kosovo according to Albania's own criteria, that invitations were sent to individuals and people who went to Albania from Pristina University without the knowledge of the self-management organs. This had not been stopped. Even now we are interested in goodneighborly cooperation, but on our foreign policy's well-known principles which are affirmed and well-known in the world, Drita Dobrosi concluded.

NUCLEAR POW PLANT BEGINS SUPPLYING ELECTRICITY

AU031709 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] The nuclear powerplant at Krsko last night began supplying electrical energy to consumers. This will considerably alleviate the power shortage in Slovenia and Croatia. Let us hear what Relja Atanasijevic, our correspondent in Slovenia, reports:

A month and a half after the starting of the uranium chain reaction at the Krsko nuclear powerplant reactor, the generator of this big Yugoslav power project has been synchronized with the 380-kilovolt transmission grid, one leg of which runs toward Croatia and the other toward consumers in Slovenia. From 2100 last night until now, everything has been running normally and without difficulty, according to Janez Dular, director of the Krsko nuclear powerplant. The powerplant is running at 10 percent of installed capacity.

Director Dular expressed his conviction that in 2 or 3, or 7 days at the most, generating power will be increased to about 30 percent, which means somewhat over 200 megawatts. As is known, the first Yugoslav nuclear power station, which took 7 years to construct, has an installed power of over 630 megawatts. This year, if all goes well, it will deliver about 250 to 300 million kilowatt hours of electricity to consumers in Slovenia and Croatia. Next year it is envisaged to generate 3.1 billion kilowatt hours, and the following year 4.2 billion kilowatt hours.

These quantities of electrical energy will be shared equally between the two neighboring republics which jointly provided the investment capital for the nuclear powerplant. Janez Dular stressed that since the first moment when the uranium chain reaction was caused, the environment has been fully and pedantically controlled. He also stressed that the safety measures undertaken bring Krsko to the rank of the most protected environments in the world where uranium is used as a fuel.